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KIRKE MECHEM, Editor
JAMES C. MALIN, Associate Editor
NYLE H. MILLER, Managing Editor



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THE COVER

William Allen White of Emporia, a distinguished native Kansan whose voluminous writings during his fifty years as a "country editor" brought him world fame. He was born in Emporia February 10, 1868, and died there January 29, 1944.

Photo by Bernard Hoffman for *Life* magazine through whose courtesy it is here reproduced.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XV

February, 1947

Number 1

William Allen White: Country Editor, 1897-1914

WALTER JOHNSON

WHEN two run-away Emporia boys were apprehended by the police of Kansas City in 1913 and queried as to their reason for leaving Emporia, the older boy stated thoughtfully: "Well, there's nothing there but William Allen White, and we got tired of hearing of him."¹ Long before this event, Emporia was known to the outside world as the home of Bill White. His political success on the national and state scene and his ability to write editorials that sparkled with excellent prose and pungent phrases had made him the leading citizen of the town within a few years from the day that he had acquired the *Gazette* on borrowed money. White's great asset was his ability to express himself in a distinctive editorial style. "Taking the hide off somebody" was his particular delight. "We're all beef eaters, especially Bill White," an Emporian told Sam Blythe in 1907, "and that's what makes him the first-class fighting man he is. . . . He's a good deal of an idealist, but he can dream and fight at the same time, which, I take it, is a good mixture for any man. He does things and says things in his paper that make us hopping mad, but nobody ever accuses him of doing anything for any motive except that of his own conscience. He gets preachy, and that makes me tired. He gets personal, and that makes some others tired. Still, he's a vital force in Kansas, and Kansas knows it. Besides, what bully stories he can write! How I wish he would write more of them and let somebody else do the preaching."²

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article is a chapter of Dr. Walter Johnson's biography *William Allen White and His America* to be published by Henry Holt March 15, 1947.

Dr. Johnson is assistant professor of history at the University of Chicago. He is editor of *The Selected Letters of William Allen White*, published by Holt in January, 1947.

1. *The Advance*, Chicago, v. 66 (November 27, 1913), p. 403.

2. Samuel G. Blythe, "William Allen White," *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, v. 179, June 15, 1907, pp. 20, 22.

The Emporia editor remarked in 1926 that the years from 1895 to World War I were "the most fruitful and happy years of my life."³ A considerable portion of the money that he received from his countless magazine articles and books was poured into improving the *Gazette*, constructing an office building, and buying a home for his family. For all of White's belief that small town papers, which devoted themselves to local news and local color would be a success, he had to pour a share of his outside earnings into the *Gazette*. If he had spent his full time running the paper, he undoubtedly could have earned a moderate yearly income. But to travel as extensively as he did, to take lengthy vacations in Colorado, to own a comfortable home and entertain out-of-town guests with great frequency necessitated a far larger income than the *Gazette* could have produced. The twentieth century trend toward more and more expensive machinery for the back shop, too, required a larger sum of money than an ordinary Emporia editor might have had at hand. The purchase of such machinery would have forced most editors to borrow from the banks, but White had sufficient outside income to free himself of any bank control of the paper.

By 1904 the *Gazette*, now the principal paper of Lyon county, had a circulation of 2,000 daily and 2,000 weekly copies. Six years later, when White was in the thick of the progressive fight, the paper reached a 3,000 circulation. After the failure of the Emporia *Republican*, no other daily was able to threaten White's newspaper supremacy. Not only did White have money coming in from outside writing, but he was a hard working, shrewd newspaper man. "Look at that face, pink and white, fat and sweet, as featureless and innocent as a baby's bottom!", remarked a town enemy in 1899. "But by God don't let that fool you!"

During the bitter days of the insurgent revolt against Taft, White's political enemies, both in Emporia and in the state backed a rival paper, the Emporia *Journal*. On January 16, 1909, the following editorial appeared in the *Gazette*:

There is something sad in the announcement of the Emporia Daily Journal that it has printed its "last copy." Because, on the whole, Emporia has never had a more sincere, conscientious attempt to establish an independent, uncontrolled daily newspaper. Editor Mickey has done his best, and his best has had this immense advantage over the best of many other predecessors—it has been clean, honest, and unprejudiced. No one controlled him. And his inability to make it go, carries with it no stigma of failure. He has fought a manly fight, and insofar as one wins who maintains his integrity, he has

3. To Helen Mahin, October 7, 1926.

won. But those who tempted him into this venture, by telling him what marvelous success he might achieve fighting the Gazette, deserve censure for their treachery. They abandoned him cruelly. They gave no support to his venture. They saw him spending his own good money and offered no help. They should bear whatever of opprobrium attaches to his failure—not he; for his is no failure. He was talked into a foolish venture by men with axes to grind. They found an honest man, and they left him to find out their perfidy. But what an old story this all is in this profession. No American town, north, south, east or west, is too large—or unfortunately too small—to have this very tragedy enacted. Every newspaper, in the nature of things, makes enemies. To tell the truth it must make enemies. But its enemies, often, are the best thing about a newspaper. They are its assets. They are its chief source of strength in a town. But when they see a newspaper man about to enter a town, they flock to him with stories, and tell him what a snap it will be to do up the other editor. They exaggerate the other man's mistakes. They make the new man believe that the town is just naturally yearning for a bright, newsy, crisp, spicy paper. These adjectives are as old as the business. Always they are the same. They are the sticky flypaper upon which a new editor always lights to his sorrow. And then, when once he is down, the adjectives pull him to his death. If he is bright, his new-found friends criticise him. If he tries to be newsy, they ask him to suppress items. If he makes his paper crisp and different, they say he is too fresh, and if he would make it spicy, they say he is indecent. In the end, he prints his valedictory. . . .

White became convinced from his own experience with these papers backed by his political enemies that a newspaper did not succeed upon "its political beliefs, but upon its ability to get reliable news quickly to the people." White always discouraged his progressive friends from launching a paper "as a political and not as a business venture." When a paper was the only daily in a given town, White firmly believed that its news columns should be opened equally to both sides in a controversy. During an important election over a street car franchise in 1911, for instance, White adopted the policy of giving space one day to one side and the next day to the other side as the only way of being fair to the community.

Although White believed that the news columns should present all sides of a question, he was absolutely convinced that the editorial page should have a definite point of view. At a time when many American papers were starting to neglect their editorial page, White gave his editorials the very best writing that he could command. His expressive, vigorous language frequently stirred the wrath of his opponents. In 1899, for instance, a gentleman named Luther Severy, failing to secure the Republican nomination for mayor, ran as an independent. White turned his scathing editorial pen on the man, and one day as he passed Severy, Severy struck him on the

back of the head with a heavy cane and knocked him to the ground. A bystander later called White a coward, and White struck this fellow in the face. The crowd that quickly gathered broke up the fight and White and Severy were taken into court for fighting and using abusive and indecent language. Severy plead guilty, and his fine was paid through a subscription circulated by White's enemies. White was acquitted of any guilt in the affair. When Severy tried to claim, however, that White was facing him when he struck, White noted in an editorial that

Without desiring to question the veracity of the two gentlemen who swore that Severy was standing in front of W. A. White when he struck the blow that felled him, the *Gazette* desires to offer in evidence, as exhibit "A," one head, size 7½ with a large lump directly in the back, and one \$35 suit of clothes with mud down the front and not a spot behind, as exhibit "B." . . .⁴

Although other Kansas editors expressed sorrow over the incident, the rival *Republican* announced that it was just what White deserved since the *Gazette* was "too free in its criticisms of persons and things."⁵ Then, Severy was presented with a new cane⁶ in the *Republican* office! Such physical mishaps as the Severy affair, however, never tempered the vigorous language that White used in his editorials.

When White first started his career in country-town journalism, papers were usually owned by a particular economic group and the editor simply served as their mouthpiece. White, always seeking individual freedom, was wary of placing himself in such a position. Although he had had to borrow money to buy the *Gazette*, his outside earnings soon freed him of any responsibility to Emporia's wealthy for the *Gazette's* editorial position. For the rest of his lifetime, he carried out the following editorial creed: "What we want, and what we shall have is the royal American privilege of living and dying in a country town, running a country newspaper, saying what we please when we please, how we please and to whom we please."⁷ At about the turn of the century, White was offered all the printing of a great railroad. "It would have made me independently rich," White recalled. But he knew that by taking it he would have lost his freedom. He would rather work hard at editing

4. *Emporia Gazette*, April 8, 1899.

5. *Emporia Daily Republican*, April 7, 1899.

6. *Ibid.*, April 14.

7. *Emporia Gazette*, December 6, 1911.

and writing and be free to speak his mind than to eat the "exotic food" of the plutocrats and have to execute their policies.⁸

White was extremely sensitive to any attempts at influencing his editorial policy. When there was a fight between two telephone companies in Emporia, one company tried to use an intermediary to secure a favorable editorial. In a state of indignation, White wrote the company on May 25, 1900, that

. . . if you have any communication to make regarding the policy of the *Gazette*, or its editorial announcements, kindly make them directly to me, and not to some other party in this town whom you may fancy has some influence with me. . . . It is particularly annoying to me, and it must be very annoying to anyone else, to assume that anyone is responsible for anything in the *Gazette* except the man who owns it. . . .

White not only believed that an editor should be a teacher, preacher, philosopher, and friend to all, but he told his readers that no honest newspaperman should truckle to his constituency. When the readers were wrong on a question, the editor should say so and not take the easy way out of agreeing with them. "Every paper that amounts to anything makes people violently angry" was his firm conviction.⁹ When he was asked in 1903 to analyze why his paper was a success, he observed that

. . . it seems to me that the essence of success in a newspaper is wisely directed courage. All the struggles I have had have been due to mistakes I make in temporizing with evil. Whenever the *Gazette* has been brave and fair it has been easy enough to get money to pay off Saturday night, but when the *Gazette* has acted the demagogue, it has been hard work to make the paper go. Character is the one essential to running a successful newspaper, whether the success is financial or political. The best epigram ever made about a newspaper was made by the late Secretary of Agriculture Sterling Morton who said: "A newspaper's foes are its assets and its friends its liabilities." It is the man who wants you to keep something out that eats the vitality out of the bank account. . . .¹⁰

Consistency in editorial opinion was no virtue to White. He was never reluctant to change a point of view when new facts appeared. What he desired was to reflect the events of the day in the light of the truth as he understood the truth. But, as he so often demonstrated, "The *Gazette* has no policy today, that it will not abandon tomorrow, if the facts change, upon which yesterday's stand was taken."¹¹

8. White to Frank Buxton, December 22, 1938; to writer, interview, November 27, 1941.

9. Emporia *Gazette*, December 27, 1902; October 21, 1901.

10. To the Success Company, October 9, 1903.

11. Emporia *Gazette*, December 19, 1913.

White could write editorials in many moods. A fellow Emporian was once quoted as saying that

Bill, you know, considers himself a sort of moral regenerator for the town, the State, the Republican party and the nation at times, and when he is in one of those moods he makes the fur fly. . . . You get different lights on Bill White. Sometimes you think he takes himself so seriously that it must be painful to him, and at other times he seems to be as frivolous as one of our society buds. Once in a while he writes an essay that is so solemn and so full of high lights and uplifts that you think he has taken a running jump and landed in a pulpit somewhere, and then he sets the town to grinning and guessing with a paragraph like this one I find on the first page of to-day's Gazette: "An Emporia man and an Emporia young woman are giving considerable attention to the same vacant house. Their friends are looking every morning in the mail for the invitations."¹²

White frequently used the device of printing a rumor about himself, and then editorializing on the subject. On April 8, 1905, he remarked that there was a rumor that he kept liquor in his cellar. "This is a malicious and unspeakable falsehood," White declared. "The liquor is kept in the pantry, between the dining room and the kitchen. Why not tell the truth? It is also alleged that the editor of the Gazette has the gout, caused by high living. Yesterday for dinner he had home-picked sour-dock, mustard, dandelion, horse-radish and beet-top greens, boiled bacon, and potatoes, corn bread and onions. Would you call that high living? Another lie nailed!"

A suggestion from Kansas Bull Moosers that he run for governor prompted the following editorial on January 13, 1914:

A number of Progressives at Lakin, more kind than considerate, yesterday resolutely in favor of this man White, of Emporia, for governor. They wanted him to run as a Progressive candidate. To which the Gazette says no—a thousand times no. For we are on to that man White, and without wishing to speak disrespectfully of a fellow townsman, who, so far as we know, may be at least outwardly decent in the simpler relations of life—perhaps he pays his debts when it is convenient, and he may be kind to his family, though that's not to his credit, for who wouldn't be—and he may have kept out of jail, one way or another for some time; without, as we say, desiring to speak disrespectfully of this man, we know that he's not the man either to run for governor or, if such a grotesque thing could be imagined, to serve as governor.

He can't make a speech. He has a lot of radical convictions which he sometimes comes into the Gazette office and exploits, which are dangerous. He has been jawing politicians for twenty years until he is a common scold, and he has set up his so-called ideals so high that the Angel Gabriel himself couldn't give the performance that this man White would have to advertise on the bills.

So, in the words of the poet, nix on Willyum Allen. The Gazette's nose is

12. S. G. Blythe, *loc. cit.*

hard and cold on the proposition to make him governor. He is a four-flusher, a ring-tailed, rip-snorting hell-raiser and a grandstander. He makes a big noise. He yips and kioodles around a good deal, but he is everlastingly and preeminently N. G. as gubernatorial timber—full of knots, warts, woodpecker holes, and rotten spots. He would have the enmity of more men who have walked the plank politically than any other man in Kansas, and his candidacy would issue an irrevocable charter in Kansas for the Progressive party to be the official minority report world without end. Men and women would be trampled to death at 7 o'clock election morning, trying to get at the polls to cast the first vote against him and at night perfectly good citizens, kind fathers and indulgent husbands, would risk a jail sentence to get in at least ten votes against him as repeaters. It may be that the Progressive party needs a goat, but the demand doesn't require a Billy-goat! Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party. But this man White is a shoulder-galled, sore-backed, ham-strung, wind-broken, string-halted, stump-sucking old stager who, in addition to being no good for draft and general purposes, has the political bots, blind-staggers, heaves, pinkeye and epizootic. Moreover, he is locoed and has other defects. . . .

This editorial prompted *The Literary Digest* to remark that “. . . William Allen White, the well-known Kansas institution, acted wisely when he defeated himself recently for the Progressive nomination for governor. . . .”¹³

White was not only a superb editorial writer, but he was a shrewd businessman. Gradually, as his earnings increased, he delegated more and more responsibility to his staff, but at all times he was aware of what was taking place in the various parts of the office. His business acumen was revealed when he constructed a new building for the *Gazette* on the lot next to where the government planned eventually to build a post office. This gave the *Gazette* a vantage point for collecting news and made its office building space a desirable location for rental purposes.

“The country newspaper,” White once wrote in *Harper's Magazine*, “is the incarnation of the town spirit. . . . The newspaper is in a measure the will of the town, and the town's character is displayed with sad realism in the town's newspapers. A newspaper is as honest as its town, is as intelligent as its town, as kind as its town, as brave as its town.”¹⁴ The *Gazette* was primarily a local paper. Although it carried Associated Press dispatches, the bulk of the paper was devoted to local happenings. This did not mean, however, printing malicious gossip and scandal. White had nothing but scorn for yellow journalism, with its scare headlines and vivid articles on the seamy side of life, which was then flowering in the

13. *Literary Digest*, New York, v. 48 (March 21, 1914), p. 642.

14. *Harper's Magazine*, New York, v. 132 (May, 1916), p. 888.

big urban centers under the guidance of William Randolph Hearst. An honest editor, White believed, should not print malicious gossip until it was a matter of court record. Vile stories should be handled in such a way that they could be read aloud in the family circle.¹⁵

"The news is what the newspapers play up," White declared in an editorial. "Moreover, the newspapers should be regulated. Some day the people will appoint or elect or hire town managers, and the business of the town managers, among other things, will be to go after the newspapers. Details of murders, hangings, suicides, sex crimes, highway robberies, burglaries, and crimes of violence generally should be suppressed, under the police power of the state. . . . Newspapers could quit if they would. The community should make them quit, and some day the good sense of the people will organize and go after the newspapers just as it has gone after offenders in other walks of life."¹⁶ One phase of the new yellow journalism that White abhorred was the growth of comic strips. He was to keep them out of his paper until after World War I. He proved to be a poor prophet in 1909, however, when he declared that ". . . In a year or two they will be as rare as the shinplasters of half a century ago."¹⁷

Anyone who objected to the policy of the *Gazette* was encouraged to express his views in a column entitled "The Wailing Place." White, however, would not publish unsigned communications nor those which stirred religious or racial hatreds. He refused a diatribe against the Catholic church one day because, as he informed his correspondent, ". . . The Catholic Church in Emporia I do not regard as a serious menace. . . . I do not believe in stirring up religious feeling in an otherwise quiet community, when the community life does not seem to justify it."¹⁸

White enjoyed nothing better than deflating Emporia's pompous citizenry. Shortly after he acquired the *Gazette*, he decided to drop the term professor because every teacher wanted the title. There was one teacher at the Normal school who raised a rumpus with White because the term wasn't used any longer before his name. White, however, was unrelenting. Then, when the Spanish-American War came, this teacher organized a company at the Normal and became a captain. At this point, White began to refer to him as the professor, rather than as the captain, which made the teacher furious.

15. Emporia *Gazette*, October 12, 1903.

16. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1911.

17. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1909.

18. To F. W. Ives, February 3, 1914.

White demanded simplicity in style from all of his reporters. The *Gazette* style book written by Laura M. French, the city editor, listed as positive "don't's" such phrases as "At death's door"; "on the sick list"; "joined in holy wedlock"; "departed this life"; "tokens of respect"; and, "the last sad rites." Another important "don't" for all *Gazette* employees was "Don't use Mr. White's name—say the *Gazette*, or cut it out altogether if you can't say *Gazette*. You might lose your job otherwise."

As White's social viewpoint broadened, he began to alter the type of advertising that he would publish in his paper. Around 1909, for instance, he began to drop patent medicine advertisements. A year before he had defended such advertising, but by 1909 he was declaring that "I should like to see the whole patent medicine business wiped off the earth. . . ." ¹⁹ Peruna, lemon extract, and Hostetter's Bitters were among those dropped by the *Gazette*. By 1912, White was informing the American Tobacco Company that he would not accept their advertising any longer either, if it continued to carry such phrases as "Now is the time to learn to chew if you are ever going to." ²⁰ It was such attitudes as these, actually costing White the loss of considerable income, that led the *Wichita Eagle* to remark that "If at times he seems to take it upon himself to be a sort of public conscience, it is because he holds himself to stern standards, and would have in others what he demands of himself." ²¹

White's editorial outpourings as well as his news columns were devoted to making the *Gazette* a local interest paper. Although his editorials on national affairs attracted widespread attention, he was apt to write many more editorials about local people and events. A wide variety of items were touched on in these editorials. Sometimes he would praise the flowers of a citizen or tell his readers how to prepare this or that food. When one family lost their little daughter in 1903, he wrote a touching editorial declaring that

. . . there is something in the death of a little child, something in its infinite pathos that makes all human creatures mourn. Because in every heart that is not a dead heart, calloused to all joy or sorrow, some little child is enshrined—either dead or living—and so child love is the one universal emotion of the soul, and child death is the saddest thing in all the world.²²

When families celebrated wedding anniversaries or contributed in some way to the betterment of the town, they were sure to have a

19. To E. C. Franklin, November 19, 1909.

20. September 19, 1912.

21. October 29, 1905.

22. February 5, 1903; two collections of White's editorials have been published: *The Editor and His People* (New York, 1924), edited by H. O. Mahin, and *Forty Years On Main Street* (New York and Toronto, 1937), edited by R. H. Fitzgibbon.

Gazette editorial devoted to them. These editorials, praising the virtues of his neighbors, White considered to be

the best form of editorial expression. . . . It teaches the writer to formulate his understanding of what are fundamental virtues in men. . . . It brings the community to a realizing sense of the worth and value of its citizens. And habitually practiced for a generation, it cements to a paper, friendships which are as much a part of its capital assets as its machinery.²³

Typical of the cementing type of editorial that he wrote was one praising the Welsh community in Emporia: ". . . The Welsh people of this community," he declared, "have lived here for over a generation. They have been the best single strain of blood in our Emporia life. . . . They are the salt of the earth, and Emporia is a better, cleaner, kindlier town because it is the home of these people."²⁴

Frequently, the editorial column became "preachy." He enjoyed nothing quite so much as telling the women of the town how to cook. Baked beans properly cooked, he believed, were a feast worthy of the gods. But those housewives who substituted canned beans for the home-cooked baked variety, he asserted, "should be loaded into a patrol wagon and taken to jail. . . . Canned beans are clammy and tasteless. . . . Beans are no good unless they are cooked at home, in an oven, with a real fire in the stove. . . ." ²⁵

Every once in a while, the editor of the *Gazette* would launch a crusade to clean up the town. In 1897, he sallied forth against the "joints" that were selling bootleg liquor. He printed a list of these spots and then wrote that

. . . Day after day the joints sell liquor here—each day getting a little bolder, and the Law and Order League snores on in the sweet unconsciousness of its dreams. . . . There is talk of a public meeting to discuss ways and means for closing these joints. . . . Will the minister whose wealthy church members rent buildings for saloons dare to come to this meeting and denounce this business? . . .

A few days later he sarcastically asserted that

. . . Let's have the joints and then we can have some variety in town. An occasional murder—a nice interesting wife murder that will give us something to talk about. . . . Let's have the joints. They are illegal. Their presence violates the law. The dignity of the courts is torn down. Mob law is encouraged. Law breaking in other lines is stimulated. . . .²⁶

23. Fitzgibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 50, footnote.

24. Emporia *Gazette*, February 11, 1911.

25. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1911.

26. *Ibid.*, May 5, 17, 1897.

White could shift in his editorial writing from a didactic mood to an hilarious mood with the greatest of ease. As a result, his editorial column varied from day to day according to the spirit of the editor. After preaching the need of social responsibility and the importance of supporting progressive political measures for days at a time, he would suddenly write an editorial like the following:

A new dress, called the lampshade dress, is headed this way. It looks like a horror. . . . Yet . . . It isn't what a woman wears; it's what she is that drives us crazy. . . . Put rings in her nose, stripe her forehead, scar her face, or put her in the plug hat of the simple child of the forest, and she still remains the most wonderful thing our blessed Lord ever made.²⁷

As early as the first decade of the twentieth century, White was being looked upon by many as the spokesman of small town Middle-western America. Feature articles about the Emporia editor began to appear in urban papers and nation-wide magazines, and his views on a variety of subjects were reprinted with regularity. All of these tendencies were greatly increased in the years between the two World Wars, but they had started long before 1914. An article in the *New York Sun* on October 20, 1910, hailed White as being "as much a part of Kansas as her cornstalks and sunflowers," and observed that "He thinks Kansas is the real United States, and had rather be the mouthpiece of Kansas' thought . . . than to be the richest man in the State or an United States Senator." By remaining in the small town, when his generation were flocking to the city, he eventually became not only the spokesman for Kansas but for much of the Midwest. He always maintained that the reason he stayed in Emporia was that people were more sociable and friendly. Emporia was a personal world where neighbors' joys and sorrows were shared with others. Furthermore, class lines were not hard and fast like in the big city. In Emporia the town carpenter had influence with the banker, but White asked, "Does the Bronx plasterer have influence with J. P. Morgan?"

A man who lived a life with real neighbors, White believed, would take more with him at death than the man who lived in a metropolitan center filled with strangers. Moreover, he once wrote that . . . what we can't see is how a man who can have one hundred feet of lawn and a kitchen garden to sprinkle with the hose every evening after work, can permit himself to be locked up in a long row of five and six story cell-houses, with nothing to distinguish one cell-house from the other but the number on the front door.²⁸

27. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1913.

28. William Allen White, "Emporia and New York," *American Magazine*, New York, v. 63 (January, 1907), p. 261.

Although White received many fabulous offers—as high as twenty-five thousand dollars a year from the *Chicago Tribune*—to desert country journalism for big city newspapers, he chose to remain in Emporia. Had he gone to New York or Chicago, he would have been only one of a number of good newspaper editors. But, by remaining as editor of the *Gazette*, he was unique. Here was a man, middle class America began to think, who refused to succumb to the flesh pots of the wicked city. Mark Sullivan expressed this feeling when he wrote that “. . . from the point of view of national well-being, a thousand young William Allen Whites in a thousand Emporias would serve America well.”²⁹

Although White may have enjoyed small town life, there also seems little doubt that he was canny enough to see that by remaining in Emporia he had a pulpit for reaching the American people unlike any he could ever have in the city. To leave Emporia would mean the end of his powerful influence, an influence that grew immeasurably from 1914 to 1944. For all of White's enjoyment of his neighbors in Emporia, the White family spent a great deal of time away from Emporia even in the years prior to 1914. After the *Gazette* was on its feet financially, the Whites were able to leave town for long intervals and turn the paper over to the capable staff that they had assembled. The *Gazette* actually served as a training center for many future editors. Among the young *Gazette* reporters who later went on to their own papers were Roy Bailey, editor of the *Salina Journal*; Rolla Clymer, editor of the *El Dorado Times*; Oscar Stauffer, operator of a chain of papers including the *Topeka State Journal*; and John Redmond, editor of the *Burlington Republican*. Charles M. Vernon, one of White's favorites, later became manager of the Los Angeles office of the Associated Press and Burge McFall became a leading Associated Press correspondent during World War I.

White's "boys," although many of them disagreed with his political views, were always fond of their ex-boss. Roy Bailey wrote him on February 15, 1928:

Dear "Father" White:—

One of the fine things about the graduates of the "Gazette school of Journalism" is that no matter how much they may disagree with their professor, who taught them what they know, they always remain loyal to him, and never allow a difference of opinion to interfere with their personal affections. . . .

29. Mark Sullivan, *The Education of an American* (New York, 1938), p. 116.

Oscar Stauffer, whom White helped secure a post on the *Kansas City Star*, told him that “. . . whether I ever amount to anything more than a pimple it is to you I owe that little. You were better to me than I deserved a hundred times.”³⁰ Walt Mason once remarked that

It is the sincere belief of those who work, year in and year out, with Will White, that the world does not hold a bigger or finer man. Some of those who work with him don't agree with him on many things, and every once in a while they hold indignation meetings and pass resolutions to the effect that he is off his trolley. . . .³¹

White was extremely patient in teaching his young reporters how to handle the news and how to write in simple but effective language. Calvin Lambert, who started as a reporter on the *Gazette* in 1909, recalled that

I never knew a man who had more patience with his employees. The *Gazette* always had a flock of cub reporters, usually students, and of course they made many mistakes and wrote abominably. He never fired a reporter, and encouraged each of them in his work. However, at all times, Mr. White was The Boss, and when errors appeared in the paper, he didn't hesitate to call us down. Sometimes he stopped the press to correct errors and we never repeated that particular blunder. . . . As a cub reporter I once had a hectic love affair. One afternoon Mr. White called into the newsroom: “Where's Cal?” Another reporter explained that I had gone to the Santa Fe station to see my girl go through. Several days later Mr. White again called for me and was informed that I again had gone to the station to see my girl go through. “My Gawd,” said the Boss, with a twinkle in his eyes, “that girl must be going through in sections!”³²

A *Gazette*-trained reporter, Brock Pemberton, went into New York City journalism and later became famous as a Broadway producer. Brock was almost a member of the White family since his mother was the sister of Bent Murdock of the *El Dorado Republican* and Marsh Murdock of the *Wichita Eagle*. He worked as a reporter on the *Gazette* while attending college and just after he had graduated. He left for New York in 1910. Using a letter of introduction from White to Franklin P. Adams, columnist for the *New York Mail*, Pemberton secured a post on the *Mail*. “I don't carry much weight with the authorities on the *Mail*—they consider me a harmless, half-sane chump who tries to be funny—,” Adams wrote White, “but you may feel sure that I'll do all I can for Brock.”³³

30. September 15, 1911.

31. Kansas State Historical Society, *Kansas Scrap-Book, Biography*, “W,” v. 10, p. 438.

32. *Emporia Gazette*, February 1, 1944.

33. May 5, 1910.

Three people assumed the responsibility of running the *Gazette*, when the Whites were out of town—Laura French, Walter Hughes, and Walt Mason. When White purchased the *Gazette*, Hughes, a boy of seventeen, was working as the printer's devil. Over the years, White relied more and more on Hughes, making him business manager of the paper from 1907 until his death in 1932. Laura French who came to the *Gazette* a few weeks after White had acquired it, served as city editor from 1903 to 1919. Miss French had charge of training the cub reporters and watching the style of the paper. White once referred to her as ". . . the best newspaper woman that I ever knew, who trained all the boys whom we have produced that were worthwhile. . . ." ³⁴

The third principal member of the *Gazette* staff, Walt Mason, became well known to the outside world. Mason was a newspaper legend before he settled down on the *Gazette*. White referred to him variously as the "poet laureate of American democracy" and "the Homer of modern America, and particularly of Middle-Western America, the America of the country town." ³⁵ Walt Mason's folksy prose-poems were widely read by pre-World War I America. Mason's addiction for liquor had cost him job after job up until the time that he started work on the *Gazette*. He had tramped all over the West writing columns, doing all sorts of work for a hand-out, never lasting more than a month or two at a job. "For when he got drunk," White observed, "boy he got drunk! And he literally God damned himself out of a job by quarreling with his boss whoever it was." ³⁶ In 1907, when Mason left a Nebraska town to take the Keeley cure, one citizen observed that "the town let its most distinguished citizen go without regret."

While he was at the Keeley Institute, he read an article by White. "It was a good article," Mason wrote later, "so full of humor and kindliness that I thought he was a man who might understand." ³⁷ Immediately, Mason wrote White that "I have taken all of the post graduate work that Dr. Keeley's well known institution has to offer, and have tried noble resolves and found myself buying sealskin sacks for the brewer's daughter. I have tried everything but a prohibition town and I want to come to Emporia for my board and keep." The Whites happened to be in Colorado when the letter

34. To B. W. Crone, July 19, 1935; to Charles Scott, May 8, 1926.

35. W. E. Connelley, ed., *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka, 1916), pp. 114-116; William Allen White, "What Happened to Walt Mason," *American Magazine*, v. 86, September, 1918, p. 19.

36. To Charles Driscoll, April 5, 1932.

37. Walt Mason, "Down and Out at Forty-Five," *American Magazine*, v. 86, September, 1918, p. 20.

came, but White told Mason to go to Emporia and help out around the paper until he returned.

Walt Mason worked on the *Gazette* as no other man ever worked. He turned in so much stuff that the printers could not run it all. Gradually, as he conquered his craving for liquor, he began to pay off the debts that he had accumulated over the years. He brought to the *Gazette* indomitable energy, a gift for rhyming, and absolute business honesty. He had a difficult struggle to keep away from liquor the first year or two. Every once in a while he would tell White that he was going to Kansas City. White would then call a friend on the *Star* and ask him to meet Walt's train and stay with him all the time to make sure that he did not get drunk.³⁸ Mason later gratefully wrote that "Had it not been for the cheery sympathy of Mr. White in those dreary days, I'd have given up trying."³⁹

On October 26, 1907, when the Whites were out of town, the front page needed more copy for the star head. Laura French asked Mason if he couldn't fill the space. Ten minutes later he handed her a prose rhyme:

* * * * *

* FAIR WEATHER SUNDAY *

* *

* *

* Let us all proceed tomorrow hum- *

* bly to the house of prayer. The *

* prediction from Chicago says the *

* weather will be fair. After rain *

* that saved the wheat crop comes *

* the genial smiling sun; let us seek *

* the sanctuary when the long week's *

* work is done. When the weather *

* clerk is certain that the Sabbath *

* will be fair, there is no excuse for *

* staying from the house of praise *

* and prayer. *

* * * * *

This verse evoked such favorable comment that he wrote more verses for the next week's issues. When White returned, he was overjoyed in spite of the fact that he had once laid down a rule against poetry appearing in the *Gazette*. Mason wrote his rhymes without reflection and without hesitation. White encouraged him by stating that "No other man in all this western country has done such good work as you have in the past year. You have got the

38. James Lawrence of the Lincoln (Neb.) *Star* to writer, interview December 29, 1944.

39. "Down and Out at Forty-Five," *loc. cit.*, p. 82.

real stuff in you. . . ." ⁴⁰ During 1908, White persuaded George M. Adams to syndicate Mason's rhymes. Before long not only was he composing his syndicated poems, but he was writing a daily short story for the *Chicago Daily News*, a book review page for the *Kansas City Star*, and reams of material for the *Gazette*. Adams also published several books of his poems, and by 1920 Mason had acquired enough money to retire to California, where he continued writing his rhymes until his death in 1939.

As part of the role of a country editor, White was a booster for Emporia throughout his lifetime. With an acute sense of responsibility, he told his readers on February 27, 1911:

. . . Those who have lived during the half century now passed, put something here beside houses and streets and trees and material things. They put practical work in politics, in religion, in education, in business, in the social organization to make this a good town. Emporia did not just grow. To have a clean town meant a fight, every day in the year for someone; it meant sacrifice for scores of men and women—sacrifice of time and money and health and strength. To have all these schools and churches meant that thousands gave freely and in a great faith without material results in sight, that we who now enjoy what we have, might reap where we have not sown.

This town is the child of many prayers. This town is the ideal realized only after those who dreamed the ideal, laid them down to rest with the dream still a dream. This town is the fruit of great aspiration, and we who live here now, have a debt to posterity that we can pay only by still achieving, still pursuing; we must learn to labor and to wait, even as they learned it who built here on this townsite when it was raw upland prairie. It is well to think on these things.

When the *Hutchinson News* once scornfully referred to Emporia as a town dominated by petticoats, White quickly turned the charge to Emporia's credit by saying that this meant that the town had no saloons, no town drunkards, no riotous living, and no whisky paupers to support.⁴¹ He took the lead in raising money for community projects. Although not a member of the Methodist church, he helped them buy an organ. He headed many drives to raise funds for the Y. M. C. A. One day when Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo stopped in Emporia, White persuaded him to speak at a luncheon to raise money for the "Y". "Hell," said McAdoo, "I'll go, but I wouldn't do it for anyone else but Old Bill White." Not only did he make a speech, but he gave a hundred dollars to the campaign.⁴² The College of Emporia also received money from White and many times he secured bequests for the col-

40. June 24, 1908.

41. *Emporia Gazette*, March 29, 1897.

42. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1944.

lege from outside sources. White served as the first president of the Current club, a men's discussion group launched in 1900, and he was also a significant figure in the Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary club.

White was a vigorous proponent of the doctrine of "Buy Emporia Goods." On January 20, 1897, he declared that

. . . Eat nothing but biscuits made from Emporia flour. . . . Eat nothing but Emporia bacon and ham, and Lyon county eggs. . . . Put on an Emporia over-coat over an Emporia suit of clothes. If the money spent in Kansas City for cheap tailoring were spent here thirty tailors would find work here who are now living in the big city. . . .

Fifteen years later he urged a dry goods store to buy printing from him because when they bought outside that money was forever lost to Emporia. Until his death the slogan "Buy Emporia Goods" appeared from time to time in the *Gazette*. Yet, during the last twenty odd years of his life, he knew that world trade was necessary for American and world prosperity, and although he advocated the lowering of protective tariffs by all nations, with delightful inconsistency he urged all Emporians just to buy Emporia-made goods!

"Personally White is the most unattractive man in Emporia—and that is saying much!" one person remarked in 1909. "You see him as he comes rolling down the street on his way to the 'Gazette' office, and you wonder that he ever did anything but sit in the shade of a tree, and drink lemonade. His clothes look as if they had been planned and cut out by the town tinner. His hat is the most impossible structure in the world. The face is the ordinary fat man's face, and is usually covered with a short stubble of sandy beard, and a sheepish smile. There is a half suppressed twinkle in the eye that suggests an overgrown boy. . . . Altogether, you would say that the man was made of putty, were it not for a certain firmness about the jaw indicating that there is steel beneath this flabby exterior, and plenty of it, too. . . ." ⁴³

During these years before the first great war, White used to wear pants that had been patched and a battered hat that was jammed down on his head of sandy colored hair. Assuming a completely democratic attitude, he and the family drove about in an old rickety two-seated rig drawn by their feeble horse, Old Tom, when they could easily have afforded an automobile. The tramp poet, Harry Kemp, observed that

⁴³. F. L. Pinet, "William Allen White—Kansan," *Kansas Magazine*, Wichita, July, 1909, p. 2.

Whether this exterior appearance . . . was sincere or affected in him I never could quite tell. I am almost inclined to believe it was not done for effect. . . . If it was an affectation, his personal attitude toward the people with whom he came into contact was not—in his office everybody loved him, and worked for him with that easy efficiency that comes of good will and respect. . . .⁴⁴

Whenever White was out of town, Mrs. White took charge of the *Gazette*. "Mrs. White is of medium height, slight, dark-eyed and sympathetic, intensely interested in her husband's work and of great assistance to him," declared the *Buffalo Express*, on December 28, 1901. Sallie White carefully watched for news items and wrote them herself or telephoned them to a reporter. During the first year or two of son Bill's life, Sallie frequently deposited Bill in a waste basket while she worked in the office. An old-time carrier boy once recalled that whenever White left town, Mrs. White made "us step lively and toe the mark."⁴⁵

In 1900 the Whites revealed their growing affluence by buying "Red Rocks," a fine house that had been built of red stone shipped from the Garden of the Gods in Colorado. They remodeled and improved the house and lived in it for the rest of their lifetime. After a serious fire in 1920, the house was rebuilt along broad and comfortable lines partially designed by Frank Lloyd Wright. Famous for their hospitality, the Whites had a highly amusing experience during their second year in Emporia. In 1896, when Congressman Charles Curtis visited Emporia, they had him to dinner and White recalled the following incident:

We were running our house on \$5 a week in those days and Sallie budgeted everything. So she bought a chicken, cooked it, removed all the bones, placed it in a crock and covered it with melted cheese and cracker crumbs—oh, yes, and with mushrooms. Those mushrooms—ah! We debated quite a while over whether we should buy a 75-cent can or a 35-cent can. I wanted the 75-cent can; Sallie's will was her way and we compromised on the cheaper assortment. Even at that it meant I had to go without a couple of 10-cent shaves to pay for this delicacy. Well, sir, Congressman Curtis came. Sallie and I were quite proud. Pretty soon I could see she was trying to catch my eye. She nodded her head toward the congressman's plate. I looked. Ye gods! There he was—defly removing the mushrooms from his portion of chicken, placing the discarded fleshy fungi on the side of his plate—mushrooms for which I must sacrifice two shaves that week! The next noon when I got home from the office Sallie met me at the kitchen door. She saw the look on my face. "Yes," she said, "I've retrieved the mushrooms—they're waiting for you."⁴⁶

44. Harry Kemp, *Tramping on Life* (New York, 1923), pp. 250, 251.

45. Fred Lockley to White, November 8, 1935.

46. A. J. Carruth in the *Topeka State Journal*, December 10, 1938.

People with national and international reputations visited the Whites in Emporia, and the townspeople became accustomed to seeing Edna Ferber, Ida M. Tarbell, and Anne Morgan walking the streets of the town. "When your world is awry and hope dead and vitality low and the appetite gone," Edna Ferber once wrote, "there is no ocean trip, no month in the country, no known drug equal to the reviving quality of twenty-four hours spent on the front porch or in the sitting room of the Whites' house in Emporia. . . ." ⁴⁷ John S. Phillips of *McClure's Magazine* and later the *American Magazine* recalled that "I once said to the novelist W. D. Howells . . . that my wife and I had been visiting the Whites in Emporia and that I did not know any more delightful place to visit in this country. Howells replied: I do not know any pleasanter place to visit in the world. . . ." ⁴⁸

The White's two children, Bill and Mary, were as different as the Kansas prairies and the Rocky Mountains. Bill, as a boy, was shy, quiet, and retiring. He grew up in the *Gazette* office, and very early took a route to deliver papers. In 1910, when White heard that Ed Howe's son Gene was now working on his father's paper, the Emporia editor wrote Gene that ". . . I shall be mighty proud when my boy, Bill, gets that far along. I don't think Bill will be worth very much. He is a good boy and that is the trouble. He is too good a boy and does not make me any trouble and I am afraid he won't make anybody else any trouble. . . ."

Mary, four years younger than Bill, was a vigorous tomboy. As a baby she had been so frail that her parents encouraged her to be an outdoor girl. She soon became a wild, carefree horseback rider. White wrote Franklin P. Adams on December 8, 1914, that

. . . Mary has not sold her pony yet. She was out riding on it the other day and some people came along with an automobile and honked and made a loud noise and the pony sidestepped and threw her off. She got up . . . and they came back and making a loud noise and honking and the pony bucked her off again. Her mother asked, "Well, Mary, didn't they stop and see what was the matter?" And Mary said, "No, Mother, but what could you expect? They were riding in a Ford!" Otherwise Mary is real well. . . .

Mary was not a warm, affectionate child like Bill. When she would enter the *Gazette* office, her father would say, "Give your old father a kiss," but she would refuse. Bill was their grandmother's favorite.

47. Edna Ferber, *A Peculiar Treasure*, p. 227.

48. Goshen (N. Y.) *Democrat*, February 10, 1939.

Madame White would place the two children in their rockers and she would sit in hers and read the classics to them by the hour.

The White home was a pleasant place to relax after a hard day at the *Gazette* office or after a hard day of writing articles and books. Playing with the children, listening to Mrs. White read aloud, or pounding on the piano were the chief sources of diversion. Once when visiting George Lorimer of the *Saturday Evening Post*, White became fascinated with Lorimer's phonograph record collection. He, himself, began to collect records, and developed the lifelong habit of relaxing by playing the records and accompanying them at the same time on the piano. During the bitter fight between Roosevelt and Taft in 1912, White wrote his old friend and political opponent, Charles F. Scott, that

. . . And finally, brethren, have you got a phonograph, a Victor? You ought to have one and you ought to get a twelve-inch record called "Schubert's Unfinished Symphony" and then when you come home at night after reading a paper like the *Gazette* that puts you out of sorts . . . put that old symphony on the machine and clink it off. . . . It will do you a power of good. I am probably as intense in my convictions as any one and probably a little more uncharitable than I should be . . . but when I get out home and get the old phonograph to going and run out Wagner's big, beautiful pieces, I seem to get away from the cares that infest the day, and whatever corrosion of worry and weariness that may infect my innards seems to pass. . . .⁴⁹

White, of course, was more than just an ordinary country editor. His consummate skill as an editorial writer distinguished his paper from other small town journals. Furthermore, his amazing energy led him to produce such a remarkable and varied number of magazine articles and books that he gained an ever-increasing national following. His active political career, too, in local, state, and national politics helped to distinguish him from other country editors. Where they had only local influence and power, White by the first decade of the twentieth century had a significant national prestige and an ever-expanding influence. The Emporia editor enjoyed his three careers of editing, writing, and politics so thoroughly, and he approached each with such incomparable vitality, that he was indeed a unique and unrivalled country editor.

After the defeat of the Kansas Bull Moose ticket in 1914, an opponent of William Allen White dedicated a poem to him, which re-

49. January 9, 1912; See interview of James Francis Cooke with William Allen White, "What Music Has Done for Me," *Etude*, Philadelphia, v. 56 (December, 1938), p. 779 ff.

veals something of the respect that the people of Kansas had for their nationally known, roly-poly editor:

We have known you many years,
Allen White;
Read you through both smiles and tears,
Allen White;
You're a treat in every line,
But in politics you shine—
In defeat you are sublime,
Allen White.

When your man is counted out,
Allen White,
You don't tear your hair and shout,
Allen White,
There has no one heard you yell
That the country's gone to hell;
Rome, for you, has never fell,
Allen White. . . . 50

50. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, March 17, 1915, contributors' column.

A Bibliography of the Published Works of William Allen White

WALTER JOHNSON AND ALBERTA PANTLE

I. INTRODUCTION

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE was a voluminous writer. This bibliography contains his books, most of the magazine articles, and certain special newspaper features. It does not list his newspaper editorials while he worked on various Kansas papers, including the *El Dorado Republican* and the *Kansas City Star*, nor his editorials for the *Emporia Gazette* from 1895 to 1943. The best of his *Gazette* editorials, including "What's the Matter With Kansas?" and "Mary White," are published in *The Editor and His People* (1924), edited by H. O. Mahin, and in *Forty Years On Main Street* (1937), edited by R. H. Fitzgibbon.

This bibliography contains only those book reviews by White which were real literary and interpretive essays. He wrote innumerable short reviews, that are not included, for publications such as the Book-of-the-Month Club *News* and others. Titles of White's many speeches are included in the bibliography whenever they were reprinted in magazines or in pamphlet form. The bibliography does not list the numerous short advertising "blurbs" that White wrote to help launch new books, nor does it contain his intermittent syndicated newspaper dispatches such as he wrote over the years for the Bell syndicate, for the George M. Adams syndicate, and for the North American Newspaper Alliance. White always printed his syndicated features in the *Emporia Gazette*, and the *Index* for the *New York Times* also generally lists these newspaper stories.

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DR. WALTER JOHNSON is assistant professor of history at the University of Chicago. See, also, the footnote on page one.

ALBERTA PANTLE is a member of the Library staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

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A Hoosier in Kansas
The Diary of Hiram H. Young, 1886-1895
Pioneer of Cloud County

PART FOUR, 1893

Edited by POWELL MOORE

JANUARY, 1893

1 Sunday. Fine day Prof Sawdy & wife visited us to day Also Grand Pap Groves. John went to town George went to Rice for our mail. Received a letter from Senator Bowling. All signed up in good shape. Charleys baby better

2 Monday. Wash day. Charley went to Clyde with Prof Sawdy. George went to Aurora after dinner.

3 Tuesday. Went to town early in the morning. Had Dinner with Stoner. Raised a row at the Court House with the officials for recom[m]ending S. C. Wheeler for the Same office they recom[m]ended me for Home 7 P M Roads bad. Thawed.

[The following entries for January 4, 5 and 6 were written by members of Young's family during his trip to Topeka.]

4 [Wednesday.] Proff Sawdy and Bill Brower called to night and played Cards till 9 P. M. The boys belled Link & Letha [Goble] The wedding Ceremony is now completed after sat. night "Supper."

5 [Thursday.] Husked Corn 1 da[y], Sold 19 bu. & 30 lbs. 28¢ Per bu.

6 Friday Pretty D---m cold this morning but we husked Corn just the same Sold 25 bu. 26¢ per bu \$6.50 That is all for this time.

[Young's entries are resumed here.]

3[4] Wednesday. Went to town after noon. Went to Topeka in the evening [C. C.] Stoner [probate judge] went with me. Arrived in Topeka 4 A. M. Thursday.

4[5] Thursday. Stoner Had a talk with Gov. Lewelling and assured him if the appointment came to cloud co. I would be appointed to the State board of charities

[7 Saturday.] Was in Topeka Thursday Friday and Saturday til noon. Came up on U. P. Arrived in Concordia 6 P. M. Saturday evening Staid all nigh[t] with Dr McCasey

8 Sunday. Came home with Dr McCasey. Home at noon. Gave

Dr a load of straw. George & John went to town with Dr McCasey.

9 Monday. Cloudy & cool High wind north. Brought Jake Matthews seed Hog home. He isnt worth a continental dam. Prof Sawdy Called twice to day.

10 Tuesday. Cloudy & cold Hig[h] wind N.

11 Wednesday. Clear & cold high wind north. Went to town and to mill. Grand pap Groves came home with me home at dark. Paid cloud co Bank \$28.00 for western School supply house

12 Thursday went to Rice for our Mail. High wind north, fearful cold and Disagreeable Jack Matthews took his seed hog home yesterday Truman Pierce called 9 P M and took Mother to Sawdys. Mrs Sawdy being sick.

13 [Friday.] Cloudy & cold. Went to Sawdys then home. To Gobles then home Then to Sawdys. Then to Aurora for the Dr Home 3 P. M. Bought Pint Whiskey at Aurora 50c. Young Tiff Called with School Order No 19 calling for \$35.00

14 Saturday. Clear & cold. Fearful High wind north. Went to town with J O McIntosh, Charley & old Man Groves. Attended co Alliance. Was elected President. Staid all night with Kentuck[y] Smith Had Possum and Whiskey for Supper.

15 Sunday. Clear & cold Charley brought the boys to town I came home with Charley Home 7 P. M.

16 Monday. Clear & warm. Went to Rice after noon with Truman Pierce. Our water works failed. Charley took Mother to Sawdys in the morning & brought her home in evening. Mrs Sawdy better. Sold Bill Pierce 2 Bushels Alfalfa seed \$6 per bushel=\$12.00 paid *Cash*. Turned Boar with Sows this morning

17 Tuesday Pretty good day. A. D. Goble Called to day and returned my chain & pinch bar Sold A. D. Goble 1 Bushel alfalfa Seed \$6.00 Paid Goble 2.00 for helping thresh. Wash day. Truman Pierce Called this morning Paid him school order No. 20. Cash \$2.00

18 Wednesday. Pretty good day Charley & I went to town. Had Mell & Fan. Shod in front \$1.00 Buggy repaired 60¢. cigars 25¢ Dinner 25¢ Pipe & well tools \$2.50 Glass and putty 25¢=\$4.85 Home after dark. Charley, Lottie⁴⁵ & Mabel went to the Center in the evening to spelling School Home 10:30 P. M

19 Thursday Pretty good day. Went to Rice after dinner with Truman Pierce. Mr Sawdy called in the morning on his way to town & Stop[p]ed on his way back

45. Lottie was the wife of Charles Young.

20 Friday Good day. Went to town with J. O. McIntosh Had dinner with Dr John McCCasey. John & George came home with McIntosh Bought Mabel a pair Shoes Paid \$2.00 Heard from Hender[son] and J. C. Potts Paid P. M. Gates [recorder of Knights of Columbia] cash \$1.50 for No 1 for Jan. 1893.

21 Saturday. Mother, Freddie Charley & Lottie went to town. Dug up 45 feet pipe and covered it. Poor job. George went to Rice in evening. Grand pap Groves called Twice to day. Attended alliance meeting at the center. Home 11:30 P M

22 Sunday Good day. Dr McCCasey and family visited us to day. George & John went to town. Mother Freddie & My self went to Sawdys in the evening. Mrs Sawdy much improved.

23 Monday. Good day. Charley and I went to town Bought coal 800 lbs. 3.00 Dinner 25 cigars 10¢ = 3.35 Home after dark. Charley came down on Santa Fe. Paid Judge Stoner \$5.00 expense Money to Topeka and return.

24 Tuesday. Fine day. Went to Rice after Dinner. Grand Pap Groves called. Loaned Jack Matthews spring seat. He returned it in the evening Charley went [to] town this morning from Soon-over

25 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. Disagreeable Bad day. Wind north & north east. Charley Came home. Grand Pap Groves brought our mail. Sawdy called Morning & evening. Jim Shafer Called to day.

26 Thursday. Cloudy & cold. Wind north & north east. 6 Degrees above zero this morning. Jack Matthews Called in the eve. Prof Sawdy called [in] after noon.

27 Friday. Cloudy & Disagreeable. Charley went to town with J. T. Henderson. I went to Rice after noon. and met J J Henley Editor Clyde Voice. Received letters from Hon S. O. Everly. Daughter Alba and from Judge Adair. Attended Alliance Social and Supper at the center. A royal good time. J. J Henley C. Muller. Judge Stoner. Prof Sawdy F A. Thompson and the old Man spoke. Hom[e] at midnight J J Henley and Judge Stoner Staid all night with Jack Matthews.

28 Saturday. Cloudy and gloomy. Frosty Sleeting and Foggy. George took Stoner & Henley to town.

29 Sunday. Clear & cold 6 Degrees below zero. F. A Thompson & wife visited us to day. Charley took John & George to town after noon.

30 Monday. Pretty fair day. Wash day. Wind north & N. E.

Went to Secrists after dinner Bought 45 lbs Beef of him 45 lbs
[@] 4 [cents] \$1.80

31 Tuesday. Pleasant until a little after noon. Up to that time wind in the South & West. Wind turned north and with it came a blizzard of dust. Turned cold. and kept getting colder until evening the mercury Sunk 10 Degrees in one hour & 10 minits Went to town with Truman Pierce. Home at dark. 9:30 P M wind fearful from the north. Cold and still getting colder. 10 P. M. 4 Degrees above zero.

February, 1893

1 Wednesday. Fearful cold. 8 Degrees below Zero. Mercury below zero all day. High wind North and North east. Prof Sawdy called to day. 9 P M. 2 degrees below Zero. This the coldest day this winter. Cloudy.

2 Thursday. Clear & cold. Charley went to town for coal. I went to Jack Matthews in the morning to have Shaft for wind mill repaired. 4 Degrees below zero this morning

3 Friday Clear & cold 6 Degrees below zero this morning. John & George came home this morning. Dan Empson & wife called this evening.

4 Saturday. went to Rice in the after noon with Sawdy. Went to town on train. Train 3 Hours late. Attended chapter. Staid all night at Pacific House. 50¢.

5 Sunday. Fine day. W. H. Hagamans⁴⁶ funeral. The Boys came to town with Team. I drove the team home. Turned fearful cold in the evening. Home 6 P. M. 11 P. M. Fearful wind from the north. Cold.

6 Monday. Cold. High wind N. 6 Degrees below Zero. Cold all day. Grand Pap Groves called to day. 9 P. M. At Zero. High wind north all day.

7 Tuesday. Clear & cold. 10 degrees below zero. Pleasant after noon. Wash day. 8 degrees below Zero. Bright and clear. Wash day.

8 Wednesday. Cloudy and Stormy. Sawdy, Henderson, and E. E. Moberly called. Sold Moberly one bushel of Alfalfa Seed. He Paid Cash. \$6.00 Awful stormy. Bad day. Charley went to town with J. O. McIntosh. Snowed furishly [*sic*] a part of the day.

9 Thursday. Warm until after noon. Wind turned north & Blowed up cold. Hauled 1 load of corn for J. T. Henderson.

⁴⁶ William Henry Hagaman was a Concordia restaurant proprietor and brother of J. M. Hagaman, publisher of the *Concordia Blade*.—*Concordia Blade*, February 10, 1893.

10 Friday. Pretty good day. Went to town after noon. Mother & I, with wagon. Boys Drove the team home. Mother & I Staid in town all night. I Attended chapter.

11 Saturday. Co. Alliance meeting Came home with J O McIntosh. home at Dark. Rained a little Mother Came home with A. D. Goble. Drew \$134. School fund Deposited in cloud co B[ank].

12 Sunday Pretty fair day warm. Boys at home all day. Deposited in cloud co Bank \$134.00 School funds On Saturday. Left Bank book for Settlement When I started home the Bank was closed. I went to Bank after noon for Bank book but it was not *balanced*.

13 Monday. Cloudy & cold. Took John to town. Lottie went with us. Rained. Had dinner with Dr McCasey. Bought coal 4.00 Whiskey \$1.00 Gave John 5.00 Drew \$12.00 from Bank Expended to day Paper Pens & ink 65¢=\$10.65 Home a little Before dark. George sick.

14 Tuesday. Cloudy & cold. High wind north. Rained last night. Snowed some to day. A. D. Goble Called and staid for dinner. Boys looked for Pierce's Seed Hog but failed to find him. Jack Matthews brought our mail this evening

15 Wednesday. Fine day. Beautiful day. Wash day. Charley went to town with Goble, and Staid in town. George finished our corn. George went to Rice in the evening for our Mail. War times in Topeka.⁴⁷ George mailed 6 letters this evening and got 2 valentines by Mail Also received a letter from Callie Slutman in Cal.

16 Thursday. Pretty good day. Butchered a pig. Jim Shafer and old Man Groves called to day. George went to Rice in the evening for our mail. Attended Alliance at the center. was elected President. Home 12 midnight. War in Topeka yesterday and to day

17 Friday. Good day. George Hauled manure after noon. Grand Pap Groves and Jim Shafer called. Shafer took Pierce's Boar Hog. Davy Else went by and his old horse fell flat & turned Davy down. nobody hurt. George went to Rice in the evening for our Mail.

18 Saturday. Good day. Went to town with Truman Pierce.

47. The "legislative war" of 1893 was in progress. Both the Republicans and Populists claimed a majority of the house of representatives and each party organized a separate house. The state militia was called out. The door of Representative hall was smashed by a sledge hammer in the struggle for possession of the hall.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, pp. 425-431.

John came home with John Stillinger. Home 6:30 P M John went to church. George went to George Lamans, he being *Sick*.

19 Sunday. fine day. Clear and warm. Dug Thompson called Lewis called. John went to church this fore noon. John George Charley & Lottie went to church in the evening.

20 Monday. Pretty decent day Wash day. George took John & Charley to town. Brought our Sulky plow home. George went to church in the eve. Grand Pap Groves & Jack Matthews and Mrs Bill Jones called to day.

21 Tuesday. High wind N. George helped Dan Empson Shell corn. I went to Rice with Truman Pierce. George went to church in the evening at the center.

22 [Wednesday.] Good day. Washingtons Birth day. George Helped Henderson and Truman Pierce shell corn. Hauled 1 load for Pierce Charley came home this eve George went to church at the center. Dr McDonald stop[p]ed to day.

23 Thursday. Pretty good day. High wind North west. Jack Matthews Called in the morning. Dr McCasey called in the evening. Georg[e] cut Stalks. Charley went to town. The old Man under the weather. Lady Matthews and Elmer Henderson Called in the eve

24 Friday Went to Rice in the forenoon. To town after noon. Attended chapter. Staid all night with Dr McCasey. Attended Co. Alliance on Saturday.

25 [Saturday.] Came home with Oda McIntosh. Home 9 P M. John & George went to church in the evening.

26 Sunday. Fine day. John went to Rice this morning. Jim Hagaman called this after noon and Staid for Supper. Charley went to town with him 8:30 P M

27 Monday. Snowed and blowed. High wind north. Jim Shafer called and had dinner with us. George went to Rice in fore noon. Bought oil and Shoes \$3.00

28 Tuesday. Fair day. Wash day. Went to town with Sawdy. Home a little after dark Subscribed for Topeka Press. \$1.25 for 3 months Daily.

March, 1893

1 Wednesday. Fine Pleasant, warm, cut stalks after noon. Greased and repaired Harness. Mothe[r] & Freddie went to Sawdys. George Mabel & Lottie went to church in the evening. Ike Woodruff moved on to his own farm. The Banta Place.

2 Thursday. Pretty fair day. George cut stalks. Freddie and I went to Rice in the eve. George went to church at the center. Lady Matthews called to day.

3 Friday High wind. Snowing & blowing Wind north. Disagreeable day. Stormy.

4 Saturday. Mother & I went to town with Henderson. Home after dark. Went to the School house in the evening

5 Sunday. Good day. Owen McIntosh & Father called to day to buy our farm. John went to church in forenoon. John George Charley and Lottie went to church in the evening.

6 Monday. Good day. George cut stalks after noon. L. N. Swope called this morning. John & Charley went to town this morning. Gave John check for \$5.00.

7 Tuesday. Cloudy. George cut stalks in forenoon. Rained & misted afternoon. Rained at and during the evening. Old Man McIntosh stop[p]ed this morning and told me the trade between me and his son was off; commenced to rain

8 Wednesday. Cloudy and rained. George went to Rice in the evening for our Mail

9 Thursday. Good day. Wash day. George cut stalks after noon. I went to Rice after noon. Bought coal for \$2.30

10 Friday Went to town after dinner. Attended chapter. Staid all night with Dr McCasey. Blew up terrible dust Storm this evening

11 Saturday. Good day came from town with Jack Matthews.

12 Sunday. High wind South. Fearful dusty. Disagreeable and all around bad day. Boys all at home to day.

13 Monday. Cold high wind North. John & George went to Rice in forenoon, and had cultivator shovels sharpened. Received [word] from Western Union Telegraph co that there was a message there for me George & I went to town after noon for the Message. I was never more disgusted to get a dispatch from Jo Adair. I wrote him. Fearful cold and high wind and Dust. terrible bad day. Home 6 P. M. Thoroughly chilled. Bad cold night.

14 Tuesday. Clear and cold High wind from the north. John at home Wash day. Boy[s] cut stalks after dinner. Paid my Knights of Columbia double assessments and lodge dues yester day. Gave Ed Whicher a check for \$3.75 in favor of P. M. Gates Recorder. John went to town this after noon. I went to Truman Pierce's in the evening to see how his sick girl was. Found her better.

15 Wednesday. Cloudy high wind South east. Dusty and

Fearful Disagreeable. Bad day. Eli Groves called. Finished cutting stalks. Mrs [Minerva] Henderson called this after noon. J T Henderson called in the evening for his wife. Both had supper with us.

16 Thursday. Bad disagreeable day. Cold. High wind north east. Fearful dust. About noon it commenced to Snow. Pretty stout storm, about 2 inches of Snow. The old Man has fearful cold and about on the lift. Received letters from Alba and Mrs. Adair

17 Friday. St. Patricks Day in the evening. Cold & clear 2 inches of Snow. Empson Public Sale to day. The old Man is feeling a little better.

18 Saturday. Pretty fair day. Went to town with Jack Matthews. Attended Alliance at the center.

19 Sunday. Good day. George took John & Charley to Rice & Mother to Truman Pierces. George went to church in the evening at the center. Mother will stay all night at Pierces.

20 Monday. Cloudy and cold. High wind north. Mother Lottie and the old Man went to town. Mother and I signed a deed to J W Adair selling our interest in the old homestead in Indiana. For \$1000.00 including our interest of debts. On the place. Had deed acknowledged before Judge Stoner. Mother & I had Dinner with Dr McCasey. Home 6 P. M. Loaned Jack Matthews my wagon and Borrowed his spring wagon. Brought Jacks seeder this evening to Sow oats tomorrow. Sent Virge Stewart 75 lbs [of] Alfalfa seed. Sent it to Ligonier Indiana.

21 Tuesday. Sowed oats. Fearful wind. Sowed 20 acres Jack Matthews called in the evening Festus Sawdy called in the evening and staid all night. Commenced to rain in the evening.

22 Wednesday. Cultivated in Oats. Cloudy misted all day. The old Man about played out this evening Cold & Disagreeable

23 Thursday. Cloudy & cold High wind north west. spit snow and misted. Cultivated in oats. The old Man about Petered out. George went to church at the center in the evening

24 Friday. Pretty fair day. George Harrowed in oats. The old Man went to Rice after noon. From there went to town. Attended lodge. Staid all night with Dr McCasey.

25 Saturday. Morning fine. Commenced to snow about noon and snowed till 5 P. M Great Snow for season. Came home with Jo Keoster Home 5 P. M.

26 Sunday. Good day. John went to Rice this morning for coal & Mail. John went to town this after noon. Snow all gone

27 Monday. Cloudy and cold. I, Mother, Lottie & Charley went to town High wind north east. Bought 5 Bushels Early Ohio Potatoes, \$1.50 Per Bus. = \$7.50 1 lb. Horse Shoe Tobacco 40¢. Drew check in favor of V. A. Stewart for \$31.00 for Taxes on old farm in Ind. Total to day with dinner 15¢ \$39.05 George at home alone. Charley & Lottie staid in town. Cold bad day. Home 6 P. M.

28 Tuesday Good day. Cultivated in Oats. The old Man fearful tiered. Hen Snaveley Called to day for stalk cutter.

29 Wednesday. Cloudy & High w South. Dusty Dr McCases called. Finished cultivating in oats. Mabel & Fred both on the lift both at home.

30 Thursday. Good day. Wash day. Finished Harrowing oats. George went to Rice in the evening. Returned Jakes Harrow

31 Friday. Good day til after dinner. Plowed ground for Potatoes. Planted Potatoes. Jack Matthews borrow[e]d Sulky plow and returned it Same day. A tramp Called to day for something to eat. Mrs Empson Called to day. Horse Medicine Man called to day. Wind sprung up this after noon and a fearful Dust storm. Terrible dust and wind. John came home this evening. This is the last day of March. And at 9 P M wind just Howling. Wind north. Planted Peas and Beets to day

April, 1893

1 Saturday. Good day. Boss day. Planted Potatoes. Boys went to Rice after dinner. Had plow sharpened. Hitched up Flora for the first time, was bad to get to the wagon tongue, Fearful mean. Stubborn. Attended alliance meeting at the center in the evening. Good meeting.

2 Sunday. High wind South Mother and I went to Thompsons visiting. George Laman & Ira Pierce were here for dinner. Home 7 P. M. Brought some Rasberry plants from Thompson's.

3 Monday. Good day. Commenced to plow for corn. John & Charley went to town on train. Lottie went to town with Thompson's. Lottie home 5 P. M Eli Grove called to day.

4 Tuesday. Pretty fair day. Killed a hog in forenoon. George Plowed in afternoon Clouded up about Middle of after noon. Thundered and lightening and threatened rain but it all blowed away. George went to Hendersons for Sausage Grinder.

5 Wednesday. Good day. I went to Rice Horse back after dinner. George Plowed. Lady Matthews and School Mother Called this evening

6 Thursday. Fine forenoon. Wash day. Mrs Empson helped us wash. Meaner than Hell after dinner Fearful hot. George Plowed all day.

7 Friday. This Day opens like Hell. Fearful wind and dust wind north west. Air full of dust. Awful, This early in the morning. High wind and Dusty. George, Mother & Lottie went to town after noon. Home at dark. Bought George Shoes, 3.00

8 Saturday. Good day. Eli Groves Brought our Mail.

9 Sunday. Good day Jim Collins called to day. Miss Jennie and Harry Thompson, J. T Henderson and G W Laman were here to day. Singing.

10 Monday. Pretty decent day in the forenoon. George took John Charley & Lottie and the Kid to town. Lottie Started to Lincoln Neb. George home at noon. Brought 11 conk shells Paid \$1.20 The old Man Plowed in the forenoon. Dr McCasey pulled 2 teeth out of Dick. After noon High wind and Dusty.

11 Tuesday. This the worst day I ever Saw in Kansas. Fearful wind & dust. Wind South until about 5 P M Then turned west the wind blowed 2 Sections out of our wind-mill. Awful and dre[a]dful wind and Dust 7:30 wind settled a little. George went for the children at school

12 Wednesday. Clear & cool. Stiff wind west. Went to town with Jo LeClare. Bought 2 Sections for our wind mill. Only \$8.00 Home 4:30 P. M George went to Rice in the evening. Mother & Mabel went to Jack Matthews in the evening

13 Thursday. Cloudy & cold High wind north east. Geo. Finished plowing 20 acres for corn. Repaired pasture fence. School Mother Lady Empson and Sadie Matthews Called this evening. Mr. Cole and old Gentleman looked like a tramp Called and wanted to buy a farm. Hard looking old Man to buy land

14 Friday. Pretty decent day. Mother, Freddie and Mabel went with the old man to town. Staid all night with Dr McCasey. Attended chapter.

15 Saturday. Attended co Alliance. We all came home with Oda McIntosh. Oda McIntosh staid for supper. F A Thompson and wife stop[p]ed for Supper and we all attended Alliance at the center Home 11:30 P M

16 Sunday. Pretty good. Children went to Sunday School Link Goble and wife called in after noon and spent the evening.

17 Monday. Pretty good day High wind South. Commenced to Plant corn.

18 Tuesday. Finished planting checked corn. Planted Potato[e]s, onions, Beets Sweet corn. Good little rain last night. Threatening rain this evening 8 P. M

19 Wednesday. Fearful wind all day. Tried to rain in fore noon. Cold & Disagreeable.

20 Thursday. Clear & cold. High wind north west. Went to town with Willit McManimee Paid windmill repairs 8.00 Shoes 3.00 Pants 3.50 Hat 3.00 Dinner & cigars 30¢=17.50 [?] Home 5 P. M. George went to Tiffs school house in Shirley [township] to spelling. This has been a bad Disagreeable day. Very cold

21 Friday. Clear & cold. High wind north west. Wash day. George & I went to Jack Matthews after dinner for seed corn. Concluded it was no better than my corn and did not get any corn.

22 Saturday. Pretty decent day. The boys went to Rice in forenoon with corn, and for seed corn. Finally got seed of Dug Greathouse. After noon John went to Rice and [had] lister sharpened. In the evening the boys went to F. A. Thompsons to a party Given in Honor of son Harry. J. T. Henderson Paid for alfalfa seed \$6.00

23 Sunday. Pretty good day tried hard to rain but failed. Boys went to Pierces to singing also Sunday School.

24 Monday. Good day. John George and the old Man went to town. Took Dudly. Home 12 noon. Paid P. M Gates recorder \$1.50 [assessment] for the death of Sir Knight Berry. Started lister. had to take lister to Shop. Dr McCasey Called. this after noon. Frankie McCasey came home with me from town and is here this eve.

25 Tuesday. Listed in corn. High wind north east. Fearful Dust after noon. Threatened rain. Dr McCasey Called and took his girl home. Mrs Empson Called in evening for camphor. Mother went to Empson's in evening to see their sick baby Road agent called (A peddler)

26 Wednesday. Cold bad day. High wind north west. George listed corn. Notified Jack Matthews he must keep his hogs off my alfalfa. Shot Jack Dog.

27 Thursday. Pretty decent day. Wash day. Highered Link Goble to help Haul fodder. George went to Rice in evening for our Mail. School Mother came to stay all night. Received letters from Alba & Nellie. Surprising

28 Friday. Bad day. High cold wind north. Fearful wind

and cold. Old man Collins Called this evening. George listed in corn.

29 Saturday. Cloudy and cold High wind north east. Misted and rained a little. George went to Rice in the evening. John came home from town. He took Examination for a certificate This has been a bad cold disagreeable day.

30 Sunday. Bad cold day. Cloud[y] and disagreeable High wind north.

May, 1893

1 Monday. Pretty fair day. George listed in corn. John went to town I went down to Jakes. Grand Paps Horse sick. One sow had pigs

2 Tuesday. Good day. Wash day. George Listed in corn. Link, Mollie Goble and Mrs Link Goble also Mrs Dan Empson Called this morning. In the eve F. A. Thompson stop[p]ed as he went by

3 Wednesday Good day Mother & I went to town after Dinner Drew 39.00 School funds. Home a little after dark.

4 Thursday. Good forenoon After noon it blowed fearful Finished planting corn this forenoon. Last day of School. George went to school this after noon. School Mother called in evening for her pay. Paid her cash \$35.00 in full for all demands.

5 Friday. Hig[h] wind North. George went to town with 6 Hogs Weight 1530 80 lbs. off=1450 at 6.60 Per pound=\$95.70 Deposited \$90.00 in cloud co Bank. John came home with George Mother & the Kids went to Gobles to a quilting. Lady [Mrs. Samuel] Townsdin called & a huxter. Gave John & George a \$1.00 each

6 Saturday. Cloudy and cold. Rained a little. fearful wind north east. Boys sold load [of] corn 28 Bus [@] 30¢=\$8.40 Bought a little coal at Rice. John went to Rice in the evening with Elmer Henderson. Lady Empson called. Grand Pap Groves Called and I paid him Cash \$1.60 for the use of Jake Matthews seeder. Attended alliance meeting at the center.

7 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. Rained a little. Singing at Jack Matthews this after noon.

8 Monday. Pretty decent day. Plowed alfalfa ground. Listed in Sweet corn. Drove Dudly to Rice. Dud is a high Jumper The meanest colt we ever hitched Received a letter from Sister Ella and Dr. Ted. Leatha Goble Henderson & wife Called this evening

9 Tuesday. Good day. Wash day. Hauled hay. Harrowed

alfalfa ground. Dug Thompson & son were here Dudley Horse served his mare Insuran[ce] \$2.00 Kinsley Morgan called. Also J. T. Henderson.

10 Wednesday. Fearful wind South. Mother & George went to town. Bought 10 Boards 14 feet long 140 feet [@] 2.25=3.15 Saw filed 25c Total=\$3.40 George went to Rice in the evening. Grand Pap Groves Called to day. Frankie McCassey came home with Mother.

11 Thursday. Good day. Shelled corn. Shelled 685 Bushels at $1\frac{1}{2}\phi$ per bus=\$8.56 [?] Davis Bros. Jim Shafer Hauled 2 loads Davy Sniff Secrist Hauled 2 loads J. T. Henderson one load. George Hauled 1 load 14 loads shelled. Square with Secrist and Henderson.

12 Friday. Good day. Shafer Hauled 2 loads of corn & 2 loads yester day 4 loads in all. Paid him cash \$3.00 George Hauled 3 load[s] to day. 11 loads to Breed 557 Bushels at 32ϕ = \$178.25. Must wate [sic] until first of next week for my pay. I was on Road review with Jo Burns and O. T. Ames, in South Lawrence. Home 6 P. M Breed Paid me \$10.00 on corn. Paid Harrison J. M. \$8.55 for him to pay the shellers Davis Bros. George went to a party this evening. John came home from town.

13 Saturday. Good day. Boys went to the town of Rice in forenoon. Went to town after noon. Drove Flora and Dave. Bought the Boys Clothes 2 suits 1 hat and 2 Pairs Over alls. \$27.00 1 Bottle of Beer 25 ϕ . cigars and Tobacco 65 ϕ Pe[a]nuts 10 ϕ candy 10 ϕ . Knights of columbia Assessment no 5 \$1.50 and lodge Dues, 75 ϕ 1 Pair shoes \$1.50 Total \$ Meat 75 ϕ = \$32.60 Home 7 P. M.

14 Sunday. Cloudy & warm. Boys took colts to Dug Thompsons Pasture. Sal. Maud, Phelix & McGinty, 75 ϕ per month for each Sal 2 years old. Maud 2 years old Phelix & McGinty 1 year Good day. F. A. Thompson & wife visited us to day. Also Mrs McCassey and children. Mrs Link Goble and Mrs Matth[ew]s & Geo. Laman were here to day. Mother went home with Fannie [McCassey]. Frankie McCassey went home with her Mother.

15 Monday. Clear & cool. Went to Rice after Dinner. Received check from Breed for 168.25 check to be presented before the 17th for payment. Bought oil 85c candy 5c Paper & envelop[e]s 20 ϕ Block on wagon brake 15 ϕ Total \$1.25

16 Tuesday. Good day. George went to Rice in forenoon. Dr McCassey calle[d] and was here for dinner. I went with Dr to

Aurora Davy Allen, and other places castrated 8 Horses Had Some Beer in Aurora Home 9:30 P M. Dr Staid all night with us.

17 Wednesday. Good Day Mabel Freddie and I went to town. Bought Buggie and Harness \$100.00 cigar 5¢ Gave Mother \$1.00 Muslin 50¢ Total \$101.55 Home 5:30 P M Mabel staid in town. Mother, Freddie & I went to Hendersons in the evening

[18] Thursday. Wash day High wind South east. Fearful wind and dust. J. T. Henderson wife & Son started for worlds fair & visit in Northern Ind. Road Scraper agents Called to day. I refused to Sign their paper.

19 Friday High wind South west. Dusty, and Disagreeable. George went to town after dinner. John and Mabel Came home with him. John & George went into Shirley to Exhibition. Paid Lewis [Louis?] Lawrence Cash by check \$12.00 for Mells colt. Lady Empson Called Twice to day.

20 Saturday. Good day. went to town after noon. Home 7 P M Judge Stoner and family called and staid all night. We attended Alliance Meeting. Mrs. Goble was initiated. Home 11 P. M.

21 Sunday. Awful wind & dust South east. Boys went to Sunday School.

22 Monday. Rained a little Just enough to lay the dust. Mother and George went to town. Cloudy and cold. High wind north west.

23 Tuesday. Pretty good day Wash day. helped Goble with his pump. Went to Aurora. Wash day. J O McIntosh Called to day.

24 Wednesday High wind North west. Dusty mean day. George went to town and to Mill. Took Charley a load of cobs and gave him 1 Sack flour. I went to town after noon. Bought chloroform 15¢ Beef 50¢ cigar 5¢ Barrel salt 1.50 Total \$2.05 [?] Home 6 P M Grand [pap] Groves Called also Jack Matthews. And old Man Gobles. George went to church in the eve at the center.

25 Thursday. Cloudy & cold Good rain last night and this morning. Wind South east. A. D. Goble called this morning.

26 Friday Good day. George & I went to town after noon The last day of school in town. John came home with George. I staid in town. Attended chapter Staid all night with Dr McCasey

27 Saturday. Staid all day in town. A man died in the Central

Branch Privy. I was on the coroners Jury. Attende[d] Lodge. Staid with Charley

28 Sunday. Good day. Came down to Rice. John & Freddie met me at Rice. George Laman, Letha Goble Harry and Jennie Thompson Mollie & Kit Goble were here to day, to Sing

29 Monday. Good day. Commenced to plow corn. Grand Pap Groves called to day Also Oda McIntosh and Mat Wilcox & wife.

30 Tuesday Mother & I went to town to attend Decoration [day services]. We had dinner with Dr McCasey. Grand & glorious good rain Big rain. The only good rain this year. . . . Home 7:30 P M. Finished plowing checked corn 1st time.

31 Wednesday. Good day. Wash day. Ground full of water well Soaked.

June, 1893

1 Thursday. Boys commenced to cultivate listed corn. Jo. Campbell was here this morning.

2 Friday. Went to town with Goble. Paid interest on 40 acres. Subscribed for Advocate. Sent one Dollar in a let[t]er. Home 5 P. M A stranger came along with stud horse and 2 Jennys. He could not find a place to stay all night So we took him in. Show at the school house this evening.

3 Saturday. Boys Plowed & cultivated garden & Sweet corn. Went to Rice in forenoon. Drove Dudley. Worked out land tax in Dis. No 2 cleaned house Boys bought *Shoes*. Plow Shoes

4 Sunday. Pretty fair day George John Mabel & Freddie went to Gobles after noon. Link & Letha [Goble] called also Grand Pap Groves. Good shower of Rain this after noon.

5 Monday. Good day. Wash day. Mother & John went to town after Dinner. George went to Dug Thompson's Pasture to See about our colts Also the pasture. Jack Matthews called, . . .

6 Tuesday. Good day. Cleaned House & Hen House. Boys cultivated corn after noon a little rain last night.

7 Wednesday. Good day. Boys cultivating. I went to town with Jack Matthews. home 6 P. M. George went to Rice in the evening

8 Thursday. Boys cultivating checked corn second time. High wind South. Dusty and Disagreeable. Boys took red Heifer to Jims Black Bull in the evening. Time March 8th, 1894.

9 Friday. Pretty fair day. Boys finished cultivating the checked corn the second time. Lady Empson called to day.

10 Saturday. Good day. Boys hauled manure in fore noon.

Boys went to Rice after noon. I went to town after Dinner. John & H. R. Thompson went to town in the evening. Frankie McCasey came home with me.

11 Sunday. Good day. Boys went to Rice & to Ed. Moberlys and engaged him to do our Harvesting. Boys went to G. W. Lamans after noon to Singing. Mollie & Kit Goble were here. A D Goble and wife Called to day.

12 Monday. Good day. Wash day. Made fence. Cultivated corn. Goble mowed our alfalfa. John brought Gobles rake in the evening.

13 Tuesday. Good day. John Raked up alfalfa in morning. George Plowed corn. Hauled in one load Hay in the evening. Grand Pap Groves Called to day.

14 Wednesday. Good day. Asa Hamlin buried to day. Hauled in alfalfa Hay after noon. Lady Empson was a caller to day

15 Thursday. Good day. Cloudy and warm. John cultivated corn for A. D. Goble. Mother & the Kids went to town after noon. Took Frankie McCasey home. George cultivated corn. F. Longtin Called to day. He is the Democratic P. M. at Aurora.

16 Friday Good day. Boys cultivated corn. The old Man on the lift. Mother & the Kids went to Letha's after noon.

17 Saturday Good day. Clear & warm. Finished plowing listed corn the Second time. Boys went to Rice and the River after noon. Lady Reeves Called today for *Eggs & Flour*.

18 Sunday. Good day. John & I went to Aurora and attended Catholic Dedication of their new church. Home 2 P. M. George came in later. Dr McCasey & family visited us to day. I went to Jack Matthews in evening

19 Monday fair day. Boys sold a load of corn in Rice after noon. Dan Empson called to day. Finished Husking corn this forenoon.

20 Tuesday. High wind South. Wash Day. Boys went to town and to Mill after Dinner. Lady Empson Called and returned our ice Freezer. *Broken*. Fearful hot & Dry. Need rain Badly.

21 Wednesday. Cloudy & Hot Went to town with Grand Pap Groves. Bought 100 lbs. Twine \$10.00 Beef 60¢ cigars 25¢ = \$10.85 Home 1:30 P. M. About 2 P. M. the wind shifted from South to North west. Blowed fearful. with the wind came the Dust. Awful Dust Fearful wind & Dust. Terrible Dust and wind. Enough to Drive decency out of *Kan*. Boys plowing corn.

22 Thursday. Good Day. Boys finished plowing checked corn the 3rd time. The old Man went to Rice in evening.

23 Friday. Went to town after dinner with John. John brought team home. I staid and attended chapter, a good time. Staid all night with Dr McCasey. Good rain and fearful Hail storm in Concordia

24 Saturday went from Concordia to Aurora. Attended camp-fire. Good dinner. John came after me. Rained a little yesterday evening. Swope and others Called to day. Paid my assessment to K. C. \$1.50

25 Sunday. Good day. Mother Freddie Mabel & the old man went to Kellenbargers. Home 6 P. M.

26 Monday. Commenced to cut wheat, E. E. Moberly, Good day.

27 Tuesday. Good day finished cutting wheat at noon. John took Moberly home. George cultivated corn. Ladies Empson & Goble called. Freddie went to Gobles. The old Man on the lift. Sick.

28 Wednesday. Good day went to town. J. B. Weaver⁴⁸ spoke to a multitude of people. Lady Empson went with me to town. John Harvested for Goble. George for Fred Keoster.

29 Thursday Good day. Big rain last night and to day. Moberly cut oats $\frac{1}{2}$ [day]. George went to town after dinner.

30 Friday. Biggest rain this season Moberly was here Also John Campbell & Lewis, also John Secrist. Ground full of water Every body Happy

July, 1893

1 Saturday. Good day. Went to town with A. D. Goble Home 2 P. M. Moberly cutting oats. Commenced to Rain about 7 P. M Hard rain. W. A. Pierce & Daughter [Effie] stop[p]ed in. Moberly started home 8:40 P. M. and still Raining Drew Cash from Bank \$5.00 Ground full of water

2 Sunday. Cloudy & warm. Lew Cabels & family visited us. Rained a little in the evening.

3 Monday Good Day. Moberly cut Oats. Butchers from town Killed 1 steer & 2 Heifers. John, Freddie and the old Man went to Dug Thompsons after Dinner. Hen. Snavelly called to day. *Twice* [This ends Book 4 of the diary. In the back of this book is a copy of the Frederick Young family register, printed below.]

⁴⁸ Gen. James B. Weaver, Greenback candidate for the presidency, 1880, and Populist candidate for the same office, 1892.

Monday the 29th of August my Father Frederick Young [grandfather of Hiram H. Young] died He was born the 8th day of Nov 1778 and brought his age to 46 yrs 11 mo and 1 da[y]. [?]

Our Grand Mother Died May 22nd 1830 Brought her age to about 74 yr.

John Young Born July 13 1804 Died September 30 1890 86 years 2 months & 17 days Born in Union Co. Penn.

Sarah Young Wife of John Young Born January 17 1811 Union County Penn. Died April 23rd 1891 Age 81 years 3 months & 6 days.

Copy of Family Register of Frederick Young and his wife Eva

We Frederick Young and Eva Spatz were married on the 24th day of Oct. A. D. 1803

(1) Unto us a son was born the 13th of July 1804—was christened the 19th of Aug 1804 and named John.

(2) Unto us a Daughter was born the 10th of March 1806. was christened the 4th of May 1806 and named Elizabeth.

(3) Unto us a son was born the 17th day of February 1808 was christened the 6th of March 1808 and named John George. Witness at Baptism John George Morr and his wife Catharine.

(4) Unto us a Daughter was born the 28 of Nov 1809. was baptized the 24th of Dec. 1809 and named Anna Catharine.

(5) Unto us a son was born the 9th of June 1812 was baptized the 19th of July 1812 and named John Frederick. Witnesses the Parents.

(6) Unto us a Daughter was born the 11th of July 1814 was baptized 23rd of Oct 1814 and named Barbara. Witnesses the Parents.

(7) Unto us a son was born the 2nd day of March 1816. was baptized the [page torn] of Aug 1816. by Rev Geo Heim. (Luth minister) and named John Louis Witnesses John Louis Young.

(8) Unto us a son was born January 18th 1818. Was baptized March 20th 1818, By Rev Friesz. (Ref Minister) and named Benjamin. Witnesses His Parents to wit. Frederick Young, and his wife Eva nee Spatz.

(9) Unto us a son was born Jan 5th 1820 was Baptized March 5th 1820 by Rev Geo Heim and named Samuel Witnesses his Parents.

(10) The 17th day of Dec 1821 a son was born unto us. was baptized Feb 17th 1822, by Rev. Schmidt and named John Jacob, Witnesses Jacob Garman and his wife Barbara.

(11) The 9th day of May 1824 a Daughter was born unto us. was baptized the 19 of May 1824 by Rev Schmidt and named Hannah. Witnesses John Boyer and his wife Elizabeth.

My wife Eva died May 17th 1824

[Following is the beginning of Book 5 of the diary.]

July, 1893

4 Tuesday Fearful hot. Moberly cutting oats. I went To Feifs Grove to celebration. Never was as badly sold at any celebration. No speaking nothing but a money making scheme. . . . Plenty Beer and Plenty to eat. Home 5 P. M. Went afoot. Old Gentleman Hossler of Val[ley] Falls called this eve

5 Wednesday. Moberly cutting Oats Horses ran away and

broke Tongue to Binder. A. D. Goble and old Man Hosler called this evening. Also Hen. Bolen

6 Thursday. Cloudy in forenoon High wind after noon South. Finished Harvesting Oats. George Took machine to Bolens. John Cultivating corn for Goble.

7 Friday. Cloudy and fearful hot. Mother, Freddie & George went to town Home 5 P. M John cultivating corn for Goble. The old Man at home with Mabel. Plowed in the garden. Awful Hot. Mabel went to Dan Empson after Dinner. Home 6:30 P. M

8 Saturday. Hot. Went to town. John & George went to town with 5 Hogs weight 1365 lbs shipped them Received cash on Hogs \$50.00 Received cash on cattle sold A. L. Demers \$35.00 Deposited in cloud co Bank \$75.00 Was appointed to examine Clerk of District court records by Board of co. com. Home 7:30 P M Dr McCasey and family came 9:15 P. M and Staid all night. I had dinner with Charley.

9 Sunday. Clear and Hot. John went to town after Dr McCaseys Instruments. Mrs McCasey and Mother went to Swopes visiting and see the sick. John home at noon Castrated Duddly Johns 1st Case of castration. John went to Thompsons afternoon. Dr McCasey and family started home 5:35 P. M. Very warm.

10 Monday Went to town on train to Examine clerk [of] District Courts Books. Worked at Monday Tuesday, Wednesday Thursday. Came Home thursday evening. Boys commenced to stack on Wednesday

12 Wednesday Stacked wheat

13 Thursday Hot. Boys Stacked Oats. Came home from town on train. Link Goble stacked 2 days Will Dillin Hauled 2 day[s] Been Fearful hot all week, and Still Heating.

14 Friday Hot. Went to town with J T Acton. Attend[ed] chapter. Received for hogs in full

15 Saturday. Fearful hot. finished The investigation of District clerk's records. We find them Short Over \$1000.00 John and Mabel came to town Mable staid with Charley. I came home with John. Home about Sundown. Attended Alliance Home 12 oclock Midnight. Paid my Knights of Columbia assessment for No 7 Subscribed or renewed my subscription to the Topeka Press Sent the Press a check for \$1.50

16 Sunday Cloudy & hot Mother Freddie and the old Man went to Thompson. The boys went to the River after noon with H R & Alfred Thompson. Home from Thompson about dark Mabel

in town with her Brother. Had a great game of High "5" to day. About 8:30 P M it commenced to thunder and lightning. Fearful Dust and wind Commenced to rain about 9 P. M and rained about one hour. Thank God for the good rain. This rain will help out the corn and late Potatoes.

17 Monday. Good day. Good rain last night. The Storm last night blowed Slutmans wind mill down and did considerable damage to Grand Mothers House. Blowed our cherry trees nearly down Also cotton wood trees and some mulberry. Plowed Orchard. I was at Jack Matthews. A. D. Goble Called to day. Mother went to Matthews. Mabel Came home with J. T. Henderson. Rained a little to day. Charles Muller & wife *Called* to day

18 Tuesday. Cloudy and warm. Sowed turnips and Plowed oats stubble ground. George mowed weeds in orchard.

19 Wednesday. Good day. Mother Freddie and I went to town in fore noon. Had dinner with Dr McCasey. Home 3 P M. Went to Aurora to Join the Knights of Pythias. Made application Paid \$5.00 Home 9:15 P. M George helped Jack Matthews thresh after dinner. John Plowed. Dan & Lady Empson Called in evening.

20 Thursday. Cloudy & Hot. George helped Jake thresh. John Plowing Old Man Goble Called twice to day. Lady Empson Called to day. Wash day. Wind South east. Ground Dry

21 Friday Good day. Went to Rice in fore noon. Boys helped Jack Thresh. Lady Reeves & Miss Bell Called to day. Mrs. A. D. Goble Called this evening.

22 Saturday. Clear & hot. John and I went to town. Attended co Alliance. Had Dinner with Charley. George helped Dan Empson thresh. Boys went to the Center this evening to Singing

23 Sunday. Hot wind South. White clouds flying through air. Thompson's Boys and our Boys went to Kentucky Smiths on a fishing excursion. This is a bad day on our corn. The corn will not [stand] any great amount of Dry hot wind. Grand Pap Groves Called also Mrs Naillieux and Lady Bertram.

24 Monday. South east wind. Wash day. Boys helped Goble Thresh. Fearful hot. Hard day on the corn. Corn is being Damaged by Dry & hot & Heat.

25 Tuesday. Fearful hot wind South. Went to Rice twice with A D Goble. Got a letter from Dave Skeels. Boys helped Jim Shafer thresh, in forenoon. Wind turned north in the evening and fearful Dust and wind. threatened rain & thundered. Ed. Sear

and wife & another Frenchman & wife Called in during the wind and dust storm. staid till 10 P. M. Still thundering but no rain to speak of. But need it badly. Lady Empson Called twice to day. Commenced to Rain 10 P M and Rained all night. Jersey Heifer bulled this evening by Jims [Bertram] black bull.

26 Wednesday. Cloudy & warm. Rained good last night. Nice easy good rain. Every boddy is happy to day. Rained a little to day. Ed Moberly called for his money for Harvesting. Paid him cash 10.00 Due Moberly \$17.00 George and Mother went to town. The Corn is now *assured* bar[r]ing Hail and storms. We all thank God for the good rain which came just in the nick of time. The ground full of water Hitch to plow and went one round and quit too wet by a large majority. Light wind east and very cloudy. Mother & George came home a little after dar[k]. Turned cooler toward evening, quite cool. Thundering and threatening rain. Cloudy.

27 Thursday. Hot. School meeting was re elected School Treasure[r]. Went to town with L N Swope. Took 1st Degree in Knights of Pythias. Rained awful hard. Staid all night with Ike Gennette at Iowa house.

28 Friday. In town all day Attended chapter Staid all night with Dr McCasey.

29 Saturday. Came down to Soonover on train. Rode a part of the way home with Sam Naillieux. Rained a good Shower in the morning. Home 11:30 A M Family all well

30 Sunday. Cloudy and hot. H R Thompson visited with [us] to day. Mother Freddie, Mabel and the old Man went to Truman Pierces after noon. Came home via Secrists and Talked with [him] about school Teacher.

31 Monday. Clear & Pleasant. Wash day. Wind north. John plowing. Miss Myrtle Tiff and Bill Walno were here this morning Before I was up. Signed Teachers contract for Miss Myrtle Tiff to teach our School at \$40.00 per month. for Seven months of School. George went to Rice middle of the after noon. After noon cool

August, 1893

1 Tuesday. Good day. Mother & I went to town. George helped Ewingham thresh. John plowed. Home from town 6:30 P M

2 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. Helped Goble take up his pump in the morning. the old man Goble took his pump to town. Com-

menced to plow wheat ground. George helped Ewingham finish thresh[h]ing. Mollie & Kit Goble were at Our place. Rained a little toward evening. A school Mother Called to day in Search of a school. John plowing Light wind east. Went to Aurora and took Second Degree in Knights of Pythias Home 2 A. M took Mollie & Kit Goble Home Swope went to Aurora with me

3 Thursday. good day. the old man on the lift John plowing. Ad. Goble called in the evening John went home with him to help him put down his pump Lady Empson Called Also a lady washing machine agent.

4 Friday Clear & hot light wind South west and west Mother went to town after noon. Charley Sent for her George plowed this after noon

5 Saturday. Good day. Freddie & the old Man went to town after noon. Charleys boy born this morning Died in 3 Hours after birth. Brought home the coffin box. Home 8:30 P M George went to Sam Naillieux Link Goble Called this eve & brought our Mail. A L Demers paid me cas[h] \$5.00 in full for all demands to date.

6 Sunday. Clear & Hot. John went to town. John & Mother brought out Charleys Dead Baby which was buried in our lot at Pleasant Ridge cemetry. Dr McCasey and family came out from town McCaseys family visited with us to day.

7 Monday. Hot. John went to Rice in forenoon and Had Plow Sharpened. Plowed after noon. George Helped Newingham thresh this after noon. Grand Pap Groves Called also Lon Swope. H. R. Thompson Called this morning

8 Tuesday. Cloudy & Hot clercked Truman Pierce's Sale Paid me 50¢ Bought shugar Bowl. George Helped Swope Thresh. John Plowed. The old Man on the lift all day.

9 Wednesday. Good. John finished plowing wheat ground. George & Mother went to town after noon. A. D. Goble Called [to]day. Hot about noon.

10 Thursday. Hot. Wash day. Boys Raked up and cocked Some alfalfa. George helped Henderson after noon. Mother was called this after noon to George Reeves their child is very sick. cleaned Bed bugs this after noon

11 Friday Good day. Wind north. Took Mother to Truman Pierce's this morning Mr Pierce starts for Iowa this after noon. Went to Rice this fore noon. George Helped Henderson this forenoon. Hauled alfalfa this after noon. John took Mother to George

Re[e]ves. Their little Girl is sick. Looked through the corn and I am Sorely disappointed at the out look. From present indications Our corn will not make 20 Bushels per acre. This makes me Sick like the dickens. Work all Summer and then loose everything. It's enough to make a man . . . to think of it. Mother at George Reeve's the Kids and the old Man are masters of the Situation while Mother is away from Home. Jim M. Ijames Called this evening.

12 Saturday Pretty fair day. finished hauling in and Stack-ing alfalfa. John went to Thompsons and in to Oakland Township this after noon and Staid all night Somewhere. Rained a little after noon. J. A. Secrist Called this evening on School Matters. Billy Moore Called this evening to see about threshing. George and the old Man went to Alliance at the center but it was a failure. Mother Came home from Reeves this morning their child a little better. Mother about on the lift. 10 P M. All in *bead*, but the old *Man*. And will Soon be there.

13 Sunday Good day. John Kellenbarger and wife visited us to day. Dr Collins of Glasco called to day. Ira Arkansaw Pierce visited with [us] and had dinner here. John Came home to day from O[a]kland Township. George went away with Ira Pierce this after noon. Corn suffering for rain.

14 Monday. Went to town to Alliance meeting. Brother Ward-all of South Dakota & Sam Scott State lecture[r] of F A & I. U. spoke in Concordia. Also central co[mmittee]. Met. Grand Pap Groves went with me. Home Just at dark. Had dinner with Dr McCasey. A big day for Concordia. Thundering this evening & threatening rain.

15 Tuesday. Cloudy & rained a little. Mother went to Geo. Reeves. George brought her Home.

16 Wednesday. Good day Boys went to Mill left Charley flour. I and Freddie went to town after dinner. Home before Sundown. Returned Jack Matthews 4 bushels of wheat borrowed last year.

17 Thursday. Good day. Cleaned up 44 bushels of wheat Boys took it to town Sold it for 45¢ per bushel. 44 50/60 [x] .45 [Total] \$20.15 The cheapest I ever sold Wheat in my life. Lady Empson Called to day Also Ida Kellenbarger. Dug Greathouse Called to day. Also School Book agent.

18 Friday Cloudy & Hot. Cleaned and took 2 loads of wheat 85 Bushels 45¢ per bus.= \$38.40 [?] Too cheap. Sewing ma-

chine agent called Also Ladies Empson & Goble called this evening. Judge Stoner Called this morning Fearful Hot to day and this evening

19 Saturday. Clear and hot. Cleaned up a load of wheat which John took to town. George Mother & Mabel went to town in the buggy. The old Man and Freddie at home alone. Dry and hot. Grand Pap Groves Called this morning. Bill Price returned our freezer which he borrowed last night after I was in *bed*. Mabel Staid in town. John had 44 bushels of wheat [@] 45¢ [Total] \$19.80

20 Sunday. Good day. John went to Sunday School. After Dinner Mother & I Hitched to the Buggy for a drive Went by way of J. O. McIntosh from there to the old Roger's farm. From there to Aurora. Rained hard at Aurora for a little while. Stop[p]ed a few minits at Phil Miller's. From there Home. Arrived 6:30 P M We also stop[p]ed at F. A. Thompsons, but they were not at home, but met Harry and sister comeing home as we started from there. Dryer than a bone at home. John went to Seerists in the evening.

21 Monday Walked to Hoosier Peck and took train to town. Worked on District clerks record Had Dinner with Charley Staid all night at Iowa House

22 Tuesday. Good rain in the morning. Bought an umbrella. worke[d] on District clerks Books staid all night at Iowa house. Met Prof Biddison at Exchange house. Staid [at] Iowa House

23 Wednesday. County School Book Text Book convention. Was a delegate to Said convention. Had plenty of fun. Adopted the or rather re adop[t]ed the Same Series of books as we had for the last five years. Came home from town with E. R. Jones Home at Dark. Boys attended speech on Oak creek.

24 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. John took last batch of wheat to town. Freddie & Hellen McCasey went with John. After Dinner Mother and Mabel went to Kellenbargers George to[ok] Old Cherry to Jim Bertrams Black Bull. If she sticks a calf will be due May 23rd 1894 after noon. Bush Finch Hauling water from Our well for His engine. Corn drying up. John had 26 Bushels of wheat [@] .45 [Total] \$11.70 This [is] all our wheat Last years wheat. 240 Bushels of wheat [@] .45 [Total] \$108.00 Too Cheap Too cheap Grand Pap Groves & Octave Laterneau Called to day. Boys went in the evening to Bill Harlins. Party

25 Friday Went to town with George. George came home. I

staid and worked on District clerks Books. Attended lodge chapter. Staid at Iowa House. 50¢

26 Saturday. Mother, John, Mabel and Freddie Came to town to the Show. 4 Tickets \$2.10 Ride to Show fair grounds 30¢ Home a little before dark. John came home with Hebert. George went to town in the evening Fearful Hot

27 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. George went to Rice in the morning for our Mail. John started for Aurora and when at Ledoux Dick fell down, and broke the buggy tongue then run away & broke one Single tree and one spoke. Dick and Flora rounded up in a barbed wire fence. George went to Aurora in the evening, for Meat but was Disap[p]ointed Dismal failure Dident have any. George went to Swopes in the evening. Old man Goble Called in the evening Grand Pap Groves Calle[d] in the morning. Mrs & Dan. Empson Called early their baby Drank Some Lye. They were badly scared. baby's mouth badly burnt. a close call.

28 Monday. Clear & cool. Went to town. Started 6:30 A M Arrived home 9:30 A M 16 miles in 3 Hours Commenced to thresh. Did not get *done* Took my buggy Tongue to town and one wheel. Mad[e] 16 miles in three Hours Wheat 96 Bushels [@] 4¢ = \$3.84

29 Tuesday I went to town to work on Dis. clerks record. Finished threshing. Oats 723 Bushels [@] 2¢ = \$14.46 Due Moore & co for threshing \$18.30 Oats 723 Bus \$14.46 Wheat 96 Bus \$3.84 Sold one load Oats 53 Bus. [@] 20¢ = \$10.60

30 Wednesday Wash day Boys cut corn. I was in town. Came home on train in the evening. Made application for Jennie Ward for Position at Insane Asylum.

31 Thursday. Good day. Grave yard meeting. Cleaned up and burnt off the Grave yeard. Was elected Secretary. W. H. Bolen President and E. Gardner Treasure[r]. P M Gates and John Kellenbarger were here for Dinner. Boys cut Corn in forenoon. Helped at Grave yard after noon. Cash in treasure to date \$13.15 George went to Bertrams in evening. Settled with Jim for cutting our alfalfa Paid him Cash \$1.25

September, 1893

1 Friday Cloudy & cool. Boys cut corn in forenoon. Went to town after noon. with a load of Oats. 53 Bushels [@] 20¢ \$10.60 Buggy Tongue \$3.50 Coffee Pot 85¢ Tablets for Kids 10¢ Ink 5¢ For Shears 80¢ [Total] Expended \$5.30 Boys home after dark. Dr. Collins Dentist from Glasco was here for dinner. Lady

Bell called to day Also Dan Empson. loaned him a plug of Tobacco.

2 Saturday. Good day. Freddie and I went to Rice in the morning. Had Freddie's wagon fixed. Peoples Party caucus this afternoon. The following were elected delegate[s] to county convention Monday. Jo. Campbell, John Campbell, J. T. Henderson, Jo Regnier, and W. H. Bolen. I was elected committee man for Nelson George went over to Hoosier Peck after Charley and Lottie. Good turnout at the caucus. Good feeling Prevailed all around. George Home 8 P. M

3 Sunday. Pretty Good day. Boys went to McIntosh and Dug Greathouse. Harry Thompson Called to day Also Link & wife. Boys & Mabel went to the River in after noon to Babtising. Cool

4 Monday. Clear & Hot. Dusty Attended co. convention. Was beaten for county clerk. Home 8 P. M. Charley and John went to town. John went for Dr McCaseys mowing machine. John helped Dr Stack hay, and did not come home. Frankie McCasey came home with me.

5 Tuesday. Clear & hot. Wash day. Went to Aurora after noon. Stop[p]ed at J. C. Ledoux Going to Aurora. Home before dark. Grand Pap Groves Called Also Lady Empson. Frank[i]e McCasey went to school to day. John still in town.

6 Wednesday. Clear & hot high wind South. Mrs Swope visited us to day. Lady Empson & Gurty Bell were here 5 or 6 time[s] to day. Also Grand Pap Groves Called Col. Dan Empson Sick. We furnished medicine. John mowed. George run over the neighborhood for a horse rake & finally got one for 2 hours. Then got Jim Bertrams in the eve[ning]. Went to Aurora in the evening Took the third Degree in the Knights of Pythias. The Boys failed to get much fun out of the old man. The third Degree is ahem. from away back. Home from Aurora 2 A. M next morning.

7 Thursday. Clear and hot Mowed and tried to haul hay. High wind South. Bad mean day. Hauled one load after dark. Grand Pap Groves Called to day. Also Old Man McIntosh no School to day. Our school Mother went to the fair.

8 Friday. Clear & hot. High wind South. Hauled in hay in forenoon. Fearful high wind. Mowed and Raked hay after dinner. Hauled one load after Supper Oda McIntosh stop[p]ed this evening. He and Frank Richardson will start for the strip Oklahoma⁴⁹ in the morning.

49. The Cherokee outlet, adjoining Kansas on the south, was opened to settlers at noon on September 16, 1893.

9 Saturday. Pleasant. Fearful Hot after noon. Hauled in hay. H. R. Thompson Called in the eve. Also J. T. Acton. Went to Rice in evening with J. T. Acton Attended Alliance in the evening. Home 11 P. M

10 Sunday. Clear & hot. Wind S. E. and east. Mrs McCasey & Mrs Wolf visited us to day. George started for School this morning John took him to Town and returned Dr McCaseys machine. Thus one of my boys Goes one by one, in a short time John will go to Kansas City to veterinary college.

11 Tuesday [Monday?]. Clear & hot. Quiet as to wind. Lady Bell Called this morning. Finished our Hay this morning. J. T. Henderson Called and brought our mail. Fred Keoster Called this evening to borrow my wagon. John returned Stillingers Rake. Dr McCasey Called this evening Gibson Slater Called this evening & delivered a message from Mrs. Kellenbarger. Received a letter from Alba stating old Lady Reese was Dead, and her Son Marcellus was very low. Poor Distressed family

12 Tuesday. Clear & Hot. High wind South east. Fearful Dusty. Went to town. Had dinner with Christ Stoner. A bottle of Beer with John Lamb Home 5 P. M. Renkenbarger Came out with me. Bought coffee 60¢ cigars 25¢ = 85¢ Grand Pap Groves Called also Lady Empson and Miss G. Bell Lady Empson & Miss Bell Staid all night. Awful Dry and Dusty. Mabel Moore 3 years old Died this morning.

13 Wednesday. Mable Moore Buried at Dis No 40 Clear & hot wind, South. Fearful Dusty. Mother Freddie & Mabel attended The funeral of Mabel Moore. Came home by Rice. Home 2:30 P. M. Mollie & Kit Goble stop[p]ed for dinner. Linkum and Mollie crossed Bats. John went to Thompsons in the evening. Linken & Letha Called in the evening. Bought 2 Bushels of Peaches of Tom Travis \$2.25

14 Thursday. Clear & Hot. John & I went to Ames this morning with 7 Hogs weight 14.40 [@] 5¼ [¢] = \$75.60 Home at 11:35 A. M. Hot and Dusty. Fearful dry. Jim Bertram Called at noon. John Raking hay for Jim this afternoon. Mother Can[n]ing Peaches to day. John went to Moore's in the eve. Paid Moore cash for threshing our grain this year 723 Oats & 96 bushels of Oats [wheat] = \$18.30 For all demands to date. Threshing Paid in full

15 Friday. . . . Wind north and Dust to beat the Devil. Commenced to wash, but the dust beat us. I went to Rice in fore-

noon and Sold 1 car of corn for 27¢ Went to Rice in afternoon for sugar \$2.00 John Raked Hay after dinner and Brought wagons from Goble Keosters. Jack Matthews Called this evening. George came from town this evening. John went to Kellenbargers this evening.

16 Saturday. Clear & Hot Shelled corn 507 Bushels, Sold the corn for 27¢ [Total] \$136.89 Paid J M. Harrison for Fred Ward for shelling \$5.05 Hauled corn Shafer Hauled 3 loads of corn to Rice and 1 load of coal from Rice to School House. Paid Shafer \$2.50 cash. W. H. Bolen Hauled 1 load of corn for Willit McManimie and one load of coal for School House, for which I paid Him Cash 50c. We Hauled 21.10 lbs coal for School House. Total coal 3 tons & 90 lbs. Hauling coal 6180 lbs coal for School House \$2.50 Bolen Returned Keoster's Wagon. Shafer returned Jack Matthew's wagon. L. N. Swope Hauled 2 loads [of] corn for me.

17 Sunday. Cloudy & Fearful Dusty. Hig[h] wind south west. Lottie and Mrs Parr visited us. John took George Part way to town. Mother went to Kellenbarger's middle of the after noon. Rained a little bit. Fearful dusty

18 Monday. Cloudy and warm. John Hauled cobs in crib 9 loads. Swope Called and I went to Rice with him Received a letter from Alba. Lady Empson Called to day.

19 Tuesday. Cloudy & hot. Wind South. Mother went to town Alone in the Buggy. John took Charley a load of cobs and went to Mill. Will leave Charley a sack of flour. Gib Slater called with Beef I bought for 25¢. Grand Pap Groves Called Also Tom Clegg. Both here for Dinner Tom is selling fruit trees. I Ordered 12 Peach trees 4 Alexander 4 Waterloo and 4 Early York \$1.80 Freddie came from School this after noon. Hot and Lonesome. Dull and Dry. . . .

20 Wednesday. Cloudy. High wind south. Fearful Dusty. John Gathered 6 Rows of corn 80 rods long & got about 8 bus. John went [to] Rice af[ter] Dinner and to Kellenbargers in the evening to a Party. Tom Clegg Called this evening. I started for Aurora got as far as Swop[e]s and then turned back. Home 7:40 P. M High wind and Dusty. Disagreeable and Discouraging

21 Thursday. Clear Hot & Dusty. Freddie & I went to Rice in the evening. Tied up and Weaned our little colts Maggie & Lucy.

22 Friday. Wash day. wind north east. Grand Pap Groves Called. John Kellenbarger & wife Called. I & Freddie went to

Rice in the evening. George Came from town this evening. Lady Emps[on] & Link Goble Called this evening. *Cold* wind north 9 P. M 2 of Huscher's Boys Came home from Oklahoma this evening

23 Saturday. Cloudy & cool. John & I went to town with 4 Horses to Sell Horses. But failed to sell them. Home after dark. Went to Alliance meeting at the Center. Home from Alliance 10:30 P. M George Staid all night with George Layman. Bought a new Hat \$2.00

24 Sunday Pretty Decent Day. Dr McCasey & family and James P. McCasey visited [with] us to day. F. A. Thompson and wife visited us to day. John went to Thompsons to day. George went to town this evening with Dr McCasey. Girty Bell was here all day. Mrs Leath Mollie and Kit Goble Called this evening. Wind north and north East all day & cool

25 Monday. Cloudy & cool. John gathered a load of corn. And went to Jack Matthews in the evening. Cold enough last night to Freeze ice High wind during the night

26 Tuesday. Cloudy & cool John went to town with H R Thompson. I went to town Alone. Had Dinner with Dr McCasey. Home 5:30 P. M Cloudy and Rained a little bit. sprinkled a little Just at dark. Mother on the lift. *Not well*

27 Wednesday. Swopes Sale. Clerked his Sale Cloudy and cool Attended Lodge of K. P. at Aurora. Paid my Dues up to October 1st 1893 90¢ Home at Low Twelve. Mother *unwell*

28 Thursday. Cloudy. John went to Rice in forenoon Took John & Harry Thompson to Aurora The Boys will start for Kansas City this evening. The boys will attend veterinary college. I gave John \$180.00 to Start on. Commenced to Rain about noon and Rained slowly all after noon Grand Pap Groves was here for Dinner. Home from Aurora 5:30 P. M.

29 Friday. Cloudy & cool Rained a good Shower this afternoon. Rained all night last night. Lady Bell Called this afternoon. Freddie came from School in the Rain. W H Bolen Called & presented Link Gobles School order which I paid \$4.00

30 Saturday. Cloudy and Hazy during forenoon. Went to town to Central Co. Meeting. Home About 6 P. M. Mother & I went to Gobles in the evening. A. D. Goble and wife returned from Oklahoma to day. Home from Gobles 10:30 P M

October, 1893

1 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. Grand Pap visited us to day & had

dinner with us. George at home to day. Dull and lonesome. This is John's first Sunday from Home. Lady Bell Called in the evening. Wind north & cool. George Borrowed Grand Pap's cart and will ride to town in the morning & home at night. Will try it for awhile for luck. Wrote a letter to day to Dr McCasey and one to Max Savoy at Aurora

2 Monday. Clear & cool. Wind north west. George went to town and Home with cart & Horse Received card from John. I went to Rice this after noon. Jo. Moore Called this after noon. Lady Bell went away this morning

3 Tuesday Pretty fair day. Henderson called. Borrowed my well Tools. I went to Henderson in evening & Helped him raise his pump

4 Wednesday Good day. warm Went to Henderson and help[ed] him put down his pump Then went to town. Home 5:30 P. M. After Supper went to Aurora to Knights of Pythias. Home 11 P. M Lady Empson was a caller to day.

5 Thursday. High wind N. W. Cloudy & cool. Mrs. Empson washed for us. L N Swope Called and returned my wagon wheel. Candidates D. S. Steele and Thomas Lamay Called Steele for sheriff and Lamay for Co. Clerk. Mean Disagreeable day. Dusty. Grand Pap Pierce brought our mail from Rice. Rained a little. Lady Empson Did our Ironing. Dan Called for his wife this evening. J. T. Henderson Called wanted to Borrow our wagon.

6 Friday Pretty fair day. School Mother Called for 1st month wages. Paid her \$40.00 in Gold. Lady Empson Called this morning early. Cool. Wind west and N. W. Ike & George stop[p]ed as they went by.

7 Saturday. Pretty fair day. Mother Freddie and the Old Man went to town Home 3 P. M. Attend[ed] Caucus at school House for Township offices. I was nominated for Town Treasure[r]. Attended Alliance meeting at School House. Home 10 P M

8 Sunday. Pretty day. Charley Pierce visited Freddie to day. Freddie & Mabel went to Sunday School George went to Rice this morning for our Mail. Lady Empson Called this Morning

9 Monday. Wash day. Speech at the center by Demers, Mosher, Stoner and Young. Mosher & Demers Called here in the evening. Good crowd. Hen Snavelly Husked corn. All day.

10 Tuesday. Pretty good day. George went to town with the Buggie. Lottie was to come out this evening but failed. I went to

Aurora this after noon bough[t] lumber & Rivits Paid \$3.00
Home at dark Hen Snavelly Husked corn.

11 Wednesday. Wind changed to the north west & blowed up cold High wind and fearful dusty and Disagreeable. Ladies Goble and Empson Called Mrs. Goble was here for Supper Two men looking for work stop[p]ed here at 10 A. M. They asked for Something to eat as they had no brexfast. Damed shame that Honorable [men] are obliged to tramp the Country for *Bread*. "*Too Much Confidence*" Snavelly Husked corn $\frac{3}{4}$ day. Commenced to rain and Drizzle and fize Wind and Dust about 3:30 P M Turned our Stock to the Straw stack this evening Dan Empson Called twice to day. Thundering and lightning this evening 6:30 P. M

12 Thursday. Cloudy & cold. Went to Rice after dinner and then to Pierce's Snavelly Husked corn $\frac{3}{4}$ day.

13 Friday. Clear & cool. Wind North west. Snavelly Husked corn Mrs Kellenbarger Called and was here all day. We took her home in the evening. She was terribly surprised to find her house full of neighbors and friends. the Supper was good. All enjoyed them selves. Home 12 Midnight. Clear & cold. About 40 eat [sic] Supper at Kellenbargers

14 Saturday. Good day. George & I went to town to co. Alliance. I went to Clyde with Mosher our candidate for Treasure[r] from there went to St. Joe. where I made a speech and Came home with Sam Demers our candidate for Register [of Deeds]. Home 2 A M in the morning. Charley and Lottie came out from town

15 Sunday Pretty good day Charley and Lottie here

16 Monday High wind So. Georg[e] took Lottie & Charley to town. Lottie came home with George Snavelly Husked Corn $\frac{1}{2}$ day, cloudy in Evening. Took top off [of] half of clear [cellar] and put on new Boards and then dirt. Did a good Job for an old man.

17 Tuesday Pretty good. Finished the cellar. Went to Rice after noon. Received letters from O. W. Hendee, Ella Stangland Washington D. C. Mrs. Ellison Topeka. Also John O Young Kansas City Mo. Snavelly Husked corn 1 day. Finished check corn.

18 Wednesday. Pretty good day. Mother & I went to town This is Mother['s] Birth day. The neighbors took Possession of our House in the evening a grand good time all around. About 20 couples were here and all enjoyed them selves muchly. Dr & Mrs McCasey staid all night. Snavelly Husked corn.

19 Thursday. Pretty good day. Mrs Letha Goble was here to day to clean up Lady Bell called. The old man Dug 2 bushels of potatoes. Davy Cox Called for a drink of Water. Took Gobles chairs and Table Home this morning

20 Friday. Good day. Tom Lamay & D. S Steele candidates for Sheriff & co clerk called & had supper & staid all night Both spoke at the center. Jo Henley & Dr Laughlin were there

21 Saturday. Tom Lamay went to town this morning. Dave Steele took [us] to Huscher Peck. Then Steele and I went to Heberts and Staid there for dinner. Steele was here for Supper I went with him to Aurora where he and Lamay spoke in the evening. Home 11:40 P. M. George Dug potatoes to day. 7 Bushels. Mother unwell.

22 Sunday. Pretty good day. Dr & Mrs McCasey Called Also Ira Pierce

23 Monday. Pretty good day. Repaired fence. Mother and Mabel went to Dan's. Mrs Dan & Letha Called to day. George Drove Mell to day.

24 Tuesday. Pretty good day. Mabel, Freddie and the old Man went to town sold 3 bushels Turnips = 75¢ Hen. Snavelly Called this after noon. Mrs. Goble Called this morning. Mother went to Gobles this after noon.

25 Wednesday. Pretty good day. Wash day. Mrs. Letha Goble helped us Wash. Repaired fence. Lady Empson Called this evening. Hen. Snavelly & wife Called this morning. Wind changed to north this eve. & Turned cold Dusty.

26 Thursday. Pretty good day. But cool. Went to town in the evening. L N Swope called in the evening and went to town with me. Attended Knights of Pythias lodge. Home even 12 Oclock midnight.

27 Friday. Went to Rice in forenoon. Received lette[r]s from Hendee Everly & Tom Lamay. Went to town after noon. Home 6:40 P. M. Snavelly Husked corn Lady Empson Called to day

28 Saturday. Cloudy & cool. Killed a hog in forenoon. Dug Potatoes after noon. Social at Swopes in the evening. There was about 50 people there. Grand good Supper. Home at midnight. Snavelly Husked corn.

29 Sunday. Clear & cold. George went to Fred Wards after noon. Hen. Snavelly A. D. Goble, W. H. Bolen Jack Matthews were here they hitched up Jumbo. I went to Oda McIntosh after Dinner Home a little after dark

30 Monday. Pretty decent day Snavelly Husked corn Lady Snavelly Called and staid all day. Dug Sweet Potatoes.

31 Tuesday. Good day. Went to Rice after noon. Lady Empson Called Hen. Snavelly Husked corn Received a letter from John

November, 1893

1 Wednesday. Pretty good day. Wash day. Mother went [to] Mrs. Empson to Old Man Spargurs after dinner. Snavelly Sick. Loaned my wagon to Swope. Tom Lamay and D. S. Steele Called as they went by to St Jo. I went to Henderson after Dinner. Went to Clyde in the evening. Henderson went with me. Was chairman of Populist meeting. P L Mo[n]tgomery from Arkansas spoke Home 1 A. M fearful cold High North & dusty.

2 Thursday Clear & cold high wind North. D. S. & Tom Lamay Called. Snavelly Husked corn.

3 Friday. Clear & Pleasant Snavelly Husked corn Ladies Empson & Goble Called. Also A. D. Goble. Lady Snavelly Called this evening

4 Saturday. Pretty good day. Went to town. P. L. Montgomery made a speech. Snavelly Husked corn. Lottie came home with me. Attended Alliance Home 10 P. M.

5 Sunday. Good day. Warm & Pleasant. Charley & Dr. [E. L.] Day came out from town. Dr McCasesy & family visited us to day. Dr & I went to Tom Debukes [Dubuque?] from there to Pete Pories from there to Aurora from Aurora to Pete Pories, from there home. Lottie and Frankie staid all night A. D. Goble came for water this morning. Oda McIntosh Called this morning.

6 Monday. Pretty fair day. Cloudy. High wind South & dusty. Went to Rice with old man Pierce. Sam Demers Called to day. Lady Empson Called. Snavelly Husked corn.

7 Tuesday Election day. Pretty good day. Snavelly Husked corn $\frac{1}{2}$ day. Paid Him Cash to day \$3.00 The old man awful sick this evening. The election passed off quietly Pops looseing votes each year. Mother went [to] town after noon with Lottie and Fred Mabel went in the morning with George. The old man fearful sick. Did not go to bed until midnight.

8 Wednesday. Pretty good day. Hauled 1 load of corn for Swope. Hauled it to Aurora. Snavelly Husked corn. Jim Shafer & family called & had Supper with us. Gave Shaffer our cobs in Hog Pen. Paid Snavelly Cash \$5.00 George Came home sick this evening. Loaned Swope my wagon this evening after dark. I

received the *Sad* intelligence that D. S. Steele our Candidate for sheriff is defeated. Terrible. The Alliant is responsible for this Misfortune. The Alliant and the Joints Whiskey did the business.

9 Thursday. Good day. Wash day. All quiet since election. The putrid carcass of the G. O. P. will now rejoice Dam *em.* A. D. Goble brought Our Mail Social at Link Gobles this evening. The old man not well Dispepsia and other Ailments is enough to use me up in good shape.

10 Friday. Pretty good day. Went to Rice in fore noon Fearful dusty. School Mother & Billius Walno Called in the evening. Snavelly Husked corn.

11 Saturday. Commenced to rain in the night. Misted and rained till about noon. then commenced to Snow. And furiously all after noon. Lady Empson Called and left her Kid while her Ladyship went visiting. This is the first Snow this season. Bad Disagreeable day. A good day to Stay in the house.

12 Sunday. Pleasant day. Snavelly Called & Hitched up Jumbo. And then returned him and Said he was spavined. Grand Pap Groves Called and had dinner with us. Lady Empson Called in the evening. George went to Rice after noon for our Mail.

13 Monday Cloudy & cold north wind. Pulled turnips. Lady Empson Called and Pulled turnips. I was at Dan Empsons to day. Goble Ike Reeves & J L Matthews Called also Hen. Snavelly. Sadie Matthews was here for Supper. Henderson Called to day. Also Grand Pap Groves Called. Snow all gone. Roads bad.

14 Tuesday. Clear & cold. Raw Wind from the north. Helped A. D. Goble take up his Pump. Jack Matthews calle[d] and I sold him 2 Bushels of Turnips for 50¢ A. D. Goble cold [called?] and I sold him 2 Bushels Turnips for 50¢ Snavelly Husked Corn.

15 Wednesday. Good day. Snavelly Husked corn $\frac{1}{2}$ day & finished. $19\frac{1}{2}$ days. Paid Balance Due Snavelly to day \$11.25 Went to Rice after noon. Helped Jack Matthews cut his Seed Hog this morning. Lady Empson Called this evening. Also Jack Matthews and Elmer Henderson. Settled in full with Snavelly to for all demands to date.

16 Thursday Pretty good day Went to town with Joe Reginer & James T. Henderson. Filed my Bond for Town Treasure[r]. Home 5 P. M. Grand Pap Groves Called this morning & evening. Had Oysters for Supper.

17 Friday. Fearful high wind. N Cold & Dusty. Went to Mill for our selves & Jack Matthews. Grand Pap Groves went with me.

Took Jacks Grist home. Geo. staid in town. Gave Charley 1 Sack flour. 1 Sack of Potatoes and a chunk of Hog meat.

18 Saturday. Pretty good day. Mother & Mabel went to town after noon. Freddie and the old man at home alone. Burried our turnips. Wind West. Clear & cool. George went to Beloit to play foot "Ball." Dug Thompson & son Called to trade horses. No trade in me.

19 Sunday Fine day. Mother Freddie and the old man went to Thompsons. They were not at home. We went east 3 Miles then north 3 Miles thence west home 3 Miles Making a drive of 12 Miles Home 1:15 P. M. The old man laid up with rheumatism. Got it in the Shoulders awfully bad. A. D. Goble Called to day.

20 Monday. Wash day. Went to the River for Sand. Commenced to Rain before I got home & continued until dark Rained slowly. Ike. Woodruff Called for his money for cleaning School house \$1.50 order No 36. Charley Pierce Came home with Fred to stay all night. Received a letter from John, also Nellie.

21 Tuesday. Clear & cool. High wind north west. Jack Matthews killed a beef I was there a couple of hours George Townsdin Called Also Grand Pap Groves & Lady Matthews. A. D. Goble hauled water from here to day. Made Door for Horse stable. Lady Empson Called this evening

22 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold High wind north. Went to Aurora. Sent John \$25.00 Bank exchange 10¢ 1 Bottle of Beer 25¢ 1 cigar 5¢ = \$25.40 Home 12:10 P. M. Archie Longtin rode with me from Aurora to Nelson Center. Lady Empson Called Also Hon Snavelly. Also a peddler This evening clear and cold. George Broke down the Cart.

23 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. A. D. Goble Called to day. Went to Aurora in the evening Banquet *Pythian*. at Frank Leotoneaus [Letourneau]. Made a speech. Afterward Played High (5) with Old Man Pimet Don Atwood and the young Banker Beat them 3 out of 5 Home 2 A. M

24 Friday Cloudy and Cold Went to Rice after dinner. Received a letter from Lawyer Welker, Albion. Dr McCasey Calle[d] this evening. J. T. Henderson Called this morning.

25 Saturday Cloudy & cold. High wind north. Dr McCasey Called. George went to town for our tricks [ticks?] Bed Stead, springs, Ice chest, chair & other things Mother went to town. Lottie came home with mother. . . . Mother & George Home a

little before dark. A. D. Goble & E. Gardner Called The old Man at home with the *Kids*.

26 Sunday. Dull cloudy day. Charley & Lottie here. Grand Pap Groves Called twice to day.

27 Monday. Dull & cloudy in the morning. Charley & Lottie went to town Also George in the Buggy. Cleared up in the forenoon. Pleasant. Hauled straw. A. D. Goble hauled water from our tank. Lottie Goes to Lincoln to day. Charley makes a damed ass of him self. J T Henderson Called this evening

28 Tuesday. Good day. Went to town. Took Dudley to Dr Operate on his eye. Poor job of it. Home between 5 and six P. M. Frankie McCassey Came home with me.

29 Wednesday. Pretty good day.

30 Thursday. Thanksgiving Fearful High wind north and cold. We went to Goble to a big dinner & Turkey roast. Big crowd. George and Elmer Henderson went to town. Awful cold. George Home 7 P. M

December, 1893

1 Friday. Cloudy and cold. 7 Degrees above zero. Worked at Grove yard after noon. Grand Pap Groves Called in the morning.

2 Saturday. Wash day. Commenced to Sleet and then Snow about 9 A. M. Continued all day. Cold. Went to town with Henderson. Home at dark. Bad cold day Stormy Wind north and north east.

3 Sunday. Pretty decent day after the storm. Mother & I went to town after noon to turkey roast. Took Frankie McCassey home. Ate turkey with Dr and Mrs. McCassey. Home a little after dark. Grand Pap Groves Called to day and Borrowed 2 Envelops. He wrote to John at Kansas City.

4 Monday. Good day. Went to Rice for our mail. Received a letter from Lottie. Hon Snavelly Called in the evening. Wash day. Congress meets to day. Now what will they do? Wait and See. Washed Our Buggy.

5 Tuesday. Good Day. Went to Ames & home 1:30 P. M Washed the Buggy. Lady Empson Called in the eve. George Laman & Anna Detrixhe were Married to Day by Judge Stoner, in Concordia. George is a Yankee & Anna is a Belgium French. Good luck to you *George & Anna*

6 Wednesday. Good day. Went to town. Sold 4 Hogs weight 9.25 4.70 per hundred = \$43.45 Paid my taxes \$31.14 Paid

Grand Pap Groves taxes \$4.57 Paid John cash \$2.00 for George Pants. cigars $30\phi = \$36.01$ [?]

7 Thursday. Good day. Repaired our Cart. Mother went to Dan Empsons after noon. J. T. Henderson Call[ed] this morning

8 Friday. Good day. Went to town with load of oats 53 Bus. Price 25ϕ per bus. = \$13.35 [?] Home 5 P. M Bought Shoes \$2.25 over shoes 1.40 Cigars and Dinner $55\phi = \$4.20$

9 Saturday Cloudy & cool. Mother & Freddie went to town. George Came Home with them.

10 Sunday. Good day. Charley Pierce was here to. Moth[er] and the Kids went to church this evening. the old man at home alone.

11 Monday. Wash Day. Warm and pleasant. Turned colder about 4 P. M. wind north. Oda McIntosh Called. Grand Pap Groves Called to day looking for Jakes Kid which was lost. They found it asleep on the cob pile. I went to Matthews about 4 P. M. Paid Grand Pap for the Cart we bough[t] some time ago. I Paid his taxes \$4.57 and Cash \$3.43 Total \$8.00

12 Tuesday. Clear & cold. High wind north east. J. T. Henderson Called this evening. Also W. H. Bolen Spotted heifer calved. Bull calf 12 Days over time.

13 Wednesday. Cloudy and cold. Old Man Goble Called this morning Also Lady Bell. I went to Jack Matthews when I had Dinner and helped make a gate for cemetry.

14 Thursday. Good day. Pleasant Went to town with oats 56 Bus. at $25\phi = 14.00$ Received a sack of fruit from California. freight 75ϕ . A rich present. Grand Pap Groves Called to day Also Goble & Tom Clegg. Bought 3 grave Roots from him for \$1.20 Home from town 4:15 P. M

15 Friday Went to Rice in the morning for coal Stormed for about 1 hour. Genuine Blizzard. Went to town after noon. Attended lodge Paid my Dues \$4.50 for this year. Staid all night with Dr. McCasey. Grand Good Supper.

16 Saturday. Good day. Mrs McCasey and Kid came home with me. Home at noon. Grand Pap Groves called and had dinner with us. George went to Minneapolis with the Concordia Team to play foot Ball. Mrs McCasey went to Jack Matthews in the eve. Mother Mabel & Fannie went to church in the evening.

17 Sunday. Fine day. Dr McCasey came this morning & George with him. C. C. Stoner & family visited us to day. Fedore

Leoffler Called to day to see about paying for Gyp and *Kit*. Head aches

18 Monday. Fine day. Wash day. Lady Empson Called. George went to town on train from Soonover. Young Mince Called and wanted to buy a team of Horses. I would not Sell on credit.

19 Tuesday Nice fine day. Went to Rice for our Mail. Jack Matthews Called this evening.

20 Wednesday. Fine day. Went to town with Hebert. Home after *Dark* This my Birth Day 51 Years *old*. Mother went to Henderson's

21 Thursday. Fine day. Went to Rice after noon. Lewis Hoffman Hurt himself to day. Is now under the care of 4 Drs. Hen Snively Called this eve.

22 Friday. Went to Rice in the forenoon. To town after noon. George brought the team home. Attended chapter. Paid my Dues for the year 1893—\$3.00 Good Supper Staid all night with Dr McCasey.

23 Saturday. In town all day. Mother & Mabel Came to town. John [Young] & Harry Thompson Came up from Kansas City. Harry Thompson went home this eve. John & George went to church. Commenced to rain about 8 P. M George and Freddie went to Rice to meet John & Harry.

24 Sunday. Cloudy & Disagreeable. Rained a little. Lewis C. Hoffman Buried to day. very larg[e] funeral Precession. Funeral Services by Rev Dr. Kern. John & Mrs Kellenbarger had Dinner with us to day. Wind South.

25 Monday. Christmas Day Fine day but cool. Big dinner at Jack Matthews. We were all there. Our Cattle got out to day. David Henry Secrist and Ella Stoner Married yester day. Rece[i]ved a letter from Alba státing she was married on the 20 of Dec 1893

26 Tuesday. Pretty cold in the morning. Boys went to Gobels for *His* Seed Hog. Turned Seed Hog with my Sows this day. Wash day. Ladies Empson & Bell Called. Also Dr. [Harry] Thompson. Sewing machine [man] Called. Boys went to Church at the Center in the *eve*.

27 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold. High wind South east. John & I went to Fedore Leofflers to See Some Stock. Leoffler not being at home we went to Aurora. And Saw him there. Paid C M. Troop [Troup] my lodge Dues \$1.25 Home 1:30 P. M John went to

Rice for our mail. The Boys went to church in the evening. Grand Pap Groves Called and had dinner with [us]. I went to Henderson in the evening.

28 Thursday. Pretty good Day. The Boys went to Fedore Leofflers for 1 steer and one Heifer [for] which I am to allow him \$30.00 On his note. Boys home about noon. John & Mother went to town after Dinner. Boys went to church in the evening. Henderson Borrowed my wagon.

29 Friday. Pretty cold this morning. F. A. H. R. & Mrs. Thompson Called this morning. John & George went to town with chickens. Sold them for 2¢ per pound. Boys went to Church this evening.

30 Saturday. Good day. Boy[s] hauled Hay. Freddie & I went to town after noon. Charley came out in eve. John met him at Soonover. George went to church in eve.

31 Sunday. Good day. John Mother Fred Mabel and the old man went to Thompson. George at home alone. Charley went to Thompsons with us. Boys went to church in the eve.

*[Part Five, the Concluding Installment, Will Appear in the
May, 1947, Issue]*

The Annual Meeting

THE seventy-first annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 15, 1946.

The annual meeting of the directors was called to order by President Jess C. Denious at 10 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 15, 1946

During the past year the Historical Society has been able to resume some of the work that had to be abandoned during the war. Material and labor shortages delayed a few projects. Shipment of the microfilm camera was held up nearly a year, the job of painting and repointing the exterior of the Memorial building was postponed for eight months, and the contract for repairing and painting the interior of the building has not yet been let. However, it is expected that most of the work authorized by the 1945 legislature will be completed by the end of the fiscal year.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President Jess C. Denious reappointed Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Correll and Gen. Milton R. McLean to the executive committee. The members holding over were Judge John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard.

BUDGET REQUESTS

Appropriation requests for the next biennium were filed with the state budget director in October.

A 20 per cent increase in the salaries of all employees was requested. This is less than the increase in living costs. On the average, the salaries paid by the Historical Society are below those for comparable jobs elsewhere.

An appropriation of \$38,000 was requested for additional steel stacks for books. When the Memorial building was built the third floor above the library was left uncompleted, pending the need for more shelving. That was thirty years ago. Since then the library has doubled in size. The shelves are now so badly overcrowded that it is impossible to classify or house the books properly, and many of them have been stored in the basement.

Two thousand dollars was asked for cleaning and repairing the Goss collection of birds in the museum. This is one of the finest collections of the kind in the country. All the specimens are very old and fragile and the work can be done only by an expert taxidermist.

An increase of \$1,000 a year was requested for the "Continuation of Wilder's *Annals*." Part of this money will be used to increase the salaries of the two annalists and part will be used for a part-time typist.

Appropriations by the 1945 legislature included \$4,000 for repairing and redecorating corridors, offices and public reading rooms. This work will be done this winter. Not included were the museum, the G. A. R. hall and several of

the offices. Some of these walls have not been painted for thirty years. Three thousand dollars for this work was requested.

An increase of \$750 a year in the contingent and maintenance fund at the Old Shawnee Mission was requested. All labor and materials have advanced in price and it has become impossible to maintain this property satisfactorily on the present fund. Next summer it will be necessary to buy a new power mower, which will come out of this appropriation.

An appropriation of \$1,000 was requested for reroofing the East building at the Mission. Bids received last spring ran all the way from \$900 to \$1,500.

An appropriation of \$550 for repairs and maintenance at the First Capitol building was requested. This will include bringing electricity to the property from Fort Riley and completing repairs and painting on the buildings.

LIBRARY

During the year 2,618 persons did research in the library, an increase of nearly 900 over the previous year. Numerous inquiries were answered by letter and there were many requests for loans from the loan file on Kansas subjects. In the Library of Congress catalogue, 71,398 cards were filed. From newspapers, covering the period of May, 1945, through March, 1946, 2,181 clippings were mounted. These include many biographical sketches of Kansans in the armed services as well as news stories recording postwar conditions in the state.

Typed and printed genealogical records were presented by the Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames and the Society of the Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims. Bound volumes of the journals of the Woman's Relief Corps from 1885 through 1943 were given by Mrs. Ida Heacock Baker.

A Gerrit Smith collection of 55 printed broadsides, letters and pamphlets was received from the Syracuse University library. These are of interest because of Smith's connection with John Brown and territorial Kansas. Mrs. Florence Fox Harrop gave pamphlets and miscellaneous publications containing writings by Philip Fox, noted Kansas astronomer.

Miss Olga House gave 42 books from the collection of her brother, the late Jay E. House. Of particular interest is a scrap book containing theater programs of the 1880's from Topeka theaters.

PICTURES

During the year 353 pictures were classified, catalogued and added to the picture collection. These include many photographs of Kansas-made aircraft, ordnance works and other wartime subjects. The picture collection is in constant use by writers and by publishers of newspapers, books and magazines. Among those who have used pictures of early Kansas scenes are the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad; Scribner's for its *Album of American History*; the Kansas Industrial Development Commission; the *World Book Encyclopedia*, and a number of newspapers.

STATE ARCHIVES

Kansas statistical rolls for 1939, consisting of 3,048 manuscript books, were received from the state board of agriculture. Kansas mortality schedules for 1870 and 1880 were filmed, as mentioned in the report of the microfilm division.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Fifty-one manuscript volumes and 2,020 individual manuscripts were received during the year.

Thirty-four manuscript volumes, the records of Dr. John A. Read of Tecumseh, were given by his sons, F. E. and A. V. Read. The volumes cover the period 1867-1918 and include birth records, day books, ledgers, medical formulae, etc. Two early maps of Tecumseh were included in the gift.

Angelo Scott, Iola, gave 123 letters, 1883-1939, and miscellaneous papers of his father, Charles F. Scott. Much of the correspondence refers to political matters and includes letters from Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Herbert Hoover and others of prominence in state and national affairs.

Approximately 1,600 separate items from the papers of Jay E. House were given by his sister, Olga House, Topeka. The collection includes correspondence, 1919-1926, and miscellaneous papers. Jay E. House was on the staff of the Topeka *Daily Capital* from 1901 to 1919 and during that period served two terms as mayor of Topeka.

Papers relating to the early history of Appanoose township, Franklin county, were received from Esther Kratz. These include minutes of the Appanoose vigilance committee, 1874, 1875, and early township records.

J. C. Mohler, secretary of the state board of agriculture, presented 195 letters, cards and statements received in his search for Kansas families who had occupied the same farm for seventy-five years or longer. These contain valuable information about pioneer families.

Walter McKeen, Manhattan, gave a file of birth and death notices copied from Manhattan papers for the period 1859-1909.

Fourteen letter-press books from the office of Charles M. Hawkes were acquired. Mr. Hawkes was a broker of Portland, Maine, and New Haven, Conn., who carried on an extensive business in Kansas.

Judge J. C. Ruppenthal added to the Society's records of Russell county the lists of marriages for the years 1882 and 1883.

Other donors were: Mrs. Joseph Allen, the E. A. Austin estate, Mrs. Matilda T. Fiehler Bell, Frank Blaylock, Berlin B. Chapman, Mrs. Lawrence Claar, Marc C. Clapp, Manta J. Elder, Nathaniel C. Fleming, C. S. Gibbens, Mrs. G. S. Graham, Grant Harrington, Martha Harvey, John H. Hazelton, Mrs. Lyde H. Hertz, Irving Hill, Cecil Howes, Ottawa University Library, W. B. Lowrance, Gen. Charles I. Martin, Karl A. Menninger, Bert Moore, Nelle Puffer, Clyde K. Rodkey, Jane C. Rupp, T. L. Scudder, Beatrice Shakeshaft, H. E. Smith, Bertha C. Spencer, Mrs. F. D. Steinmeyer, Rufus Rockwell Wilson and Ruth Wright.

MICROFILM DIVISION

The microfilm camera which was ordered in May, 1945, was not received until February, 1946. It was installed in a specially equipped and air-conditioned room, and production was begun in March. By October 1, over 100,000 photographs had been made.

In one respect, the job of filming old and fragile papers is like that of a portrait photographer. The difficult part is preparing the subject for the camera. The fact that the papers are afterwards destroyed makes it more important for them to be "photogenic" than for the photographer's subjects, who at least continue to live.

In order to microfilm a newspaper file it is necessary to make it as complete and perfect as possible. Usually the files of the publisher and the Historical Society, when thrown together, make a fairly complete run. Before they can be consolidated into one file, which is called collating, both collections must be arranged chronologically. The collators then remove the bindings and compare the collections, page by page, selecting the best. If the same page in both is imperfect, but in different places, both pages are saved for filming. Where the files are of different editions the home or main edition is used, if in good condition. After the selections have been made, the pages are cleaned and repaired. If they are at all wrinkled they must be moistened and ironed, since an uneven surface will not photograph perfectly. When this is done a label is prepared, showing titles and inclusive dates. The file is then ready for filming.

Running newspapers through the camera is a comparatively simple process. The division's best record so far is 2,500 pages in one day, about 700 pages to a roll of film. The completed film is mailed to Chicago to be developed. When returned, it is carefully checked. Sometimes defects appear and some of the original papers must be photographed again. This film is developed and is spliced into the original negative. After the negative receives a final okay it is returned to the laboratory, where a positive is made. The positive, which is black on white like the newspapers, is sent to the Historical Society. The negative is stored by the film company in a special vault, as an additional guarantee that the record will be preserved. Occasionally defects appear in the positive and it must be returned for replacement. When finally accepted, the positive is ready for use by the public.

The first newspaper selected for microfilming was the *Topeka State Journal*. All Topeka papers owned by the Society are in bad condition because they have been in constant demand by local patrons. Some of the earlier wood-pulp volumes are so brittle and tattered that they can no longer be used. The editors of the *Journal*, Oscar Stauffer and E. B. Chapman, turned over their back files for collating last spring. By the first of October 55 reels of positive microfilm containing about 40,000 pages of the *Journal*, between the years 1879 and 1908, were ready for public use in the two projectors in the newspaper room. In a few weeks they will all be on film. This means that a 60-year run of this important Kansas newspaper, which heretofore existed only in two fragile and incomplete files, will soon be available in permanent and legible microfilm reels, so compact that all may be stored on a small shelf.

There are a few Kansas newspapers which the Society has never received. Files of some of these can now be borrowed and filmed. Two early-day Eureka papers lent by Edwin T. Wood of Eureka and Rod W. Runyan of Topeka have already been copied and others are ready for the camera. In addition, microfilm copies of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1849 through 1865, which contain many articles about territorial Kansas, have been purchased.

The Society has also experimented some with smaller documents. Mortality schedules of the 1870 and 1880 federal census records for Kansas have been filmed. Three positive copies were made, one for the Society, and two for the Kansas Society of the D. A. R., who bought them for their genealogical records commission in Washington and for the Wichita Public Library. Also filmed was the annual report of the Santa Fe railroad for 1873. This is a rare booklet, the only known copy being the one owned by the Santa Fe.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

It was expected that the demand for birth certificates would fall off after the closing of war plants, but there are still many requests. In fact, 289 census certificates were issued last month (September), more than in any month for three years. They are used in making claims for old-age assistance, social security, railroad retirement, pensions and insurance endowments, and for delayed birth certificates and passports.

Thirty-four hundred patrons were served by the newspaper and census divisions during the year. Seventy-seven hundred single issues of newspapers and 9,560 bound volumes were consulted; 4,442 census volumes were searched and from them 2,518 certified copies of family records were issued.

The 1946 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in July. It showed the issues of 688 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing: 55 dailies, eight semiweeklies, 399 weeklies, two three times monthly, 27 fortnightlies, 20 semimonthlies, two once every three weeks, 98 monthlies, 15 bimonthlies, 28 quarterlies, 29 occasionals, three semiannuals and two annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of these 688 publications, 125 are listed as republican, 22 democratic, and 253 independent in politics; 95 are school or college, 41 religious, 21 fraternal, 10 labor, eight industrial, 15 trade and 98 miscellaneous.

On January 1, 1946, the Society's collections contained 51,008 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, exclusive of more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1946.

During the year, the following miscellaneous files were donated: 536 issues of the weekly and semiweekly New York *Tribune*, dated from 1859 to 1867, from Mrs. Charles Hattery, Topeka, the *X-Rays Democrat*, Topeka, from H. G. Hoskin, Burlington, Colo., and unbound issues of the *Oxford Register*, dated from 1912 to 1932, from E. Esther Griswold, Oxford. Among the donors of other miscellaneous newspapers were: Mrs. Florence Fox Harrop, Manhattan, and E. B. Chapman, James Colvin, Mrs. M. E. Harding, John S. McBride, N. E. Saxe and Oscar Stauffer, all of Topeka.

ANNALS OF KANSAS

The 1945 legislature appropriated \$8,000 for a continuation of the *Annals of Kansas* which had been brought down to 1885 by Daniel W. Wilder. Miss Jennie Owen was employed in July, 1945, to take charge of this work. Since January, 1946, she has been assisted by Lt. Edgar Langsdorf, who returned to the staff after serving five years in the army. The compilation is under the direction of the secretary, with the following acting as an advisory committee: Fred Brinkerhoff of Pittsburg, Cecil Howes of Topeka, Dr. J. C. Malin of Lawrence and Justice William A. Smith, of Topeka.

The new *Annals* has now been completed through 1890. The year 1891 has been compiled but not checked. Many of the preliminary notes for the next five years, through 1896, have been made.

The principal source is the newspapers. The Topeka *Daily Capital*, the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* and the Wichita *Eagle* are used for general Kansas news and for references to important local happenings. All local references are verified in local papers. Many other publications are read for specialized information. An example is the *Kansas Farmer*, official organ for farm associations, and a source of agricultural and livestock news. Also, published

reports of various kinds must be searched. These include reports of all state departments, reports of state-wide associations such as the bar association, journals of the legislature, etc.

Before the work began it was necessary to determine what sources should be consulted. This survey was made by Miss Owen and it occupied nearly all her time for the first six months. It then took some time to organize the research. In the beginning it required several months to compile one year of the *Annals*. Now a year requires only about six weeks. This means that approximately eight years of *Annals* can be compiled each year. This average of course cannot be maintained when the time comes for proofreading, preparing indexes and seeing the work through the press.

Life in Kansas is a great deal more complicated than it was in Wilder's day and the job of the annalist is not quite so simple. The editors are trying to compile a day-by-day history which will be accurate, readable, comprehensive, concise and unprejudiced. If they can live up to these adjectives the Society will have made a valuable contribution to the state.

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its fifteenth year and is once more on a prewar schedule. The slick-paper illustrated section, begun last year, has proved to be a popular feature.

The magazine has printed contributions from many historians. Two among them are outstanding. Both happen to be members of the faculty of the University of Kansas: Dr. James C. Malin, professor of history, and Dr. Robert Taft, professor of chemistry.

Dr. Malin, who is associate editor of the *Quarterly*, has printed a number of articles which have been widely praised. They include: "An Introduction To the History of the Bluestem-Pasture Region of Kansas; a Study in Adaptation to Geographical Environment"; "The Soft Winter Wheat Boom and the Agricultural Development of the Upper Kansas River Valley"; and a series of articles on "Dust Storms." Dr. Malin is author of the books: *John Brown And the Legend of Fifty-Six*, and *Winter Wheat in the Golden Belt of Kansas*.

Dr. Taft is the author of *Photography And the American Scene*, published by Macmillan, a notable book on the history of photography. Among his articles in the *Quarterly* are "A Photographic History of Early Kansas" and "Additional Notes on the Gardner Photographs of Kansas." A current series, entitled "The Pictorial Record of the Old West," has produced a number of fan letters. Although they are not from bobby soxers but from historians and others interested in the Old West, they are no less gratifying to Dr. Taft and the editors.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year was 32,893. There were 29 accessions.

A United States flag with 34 stars which had been owned by James Stanley, a veteran of the Civil War, was given by his daughters, Mrs. Frank Cron and Mrs. Gilbert L. Blatchley. Sanford L. Timmons presented a ditty box used on the *U. S. S. Topeka* when she was flagship of the cruiser squadron in 1903. It is a relic of the old sailing ship, *Constitution*. An oxchain forged at the famous Weston Blacksmith Shop at Independence, Mo., in 1858, was

presented by J. L. Cartwright, Jr., of Sedalia, Mo. Mr. Cartwright is the son of Dr. J. L. Cartwright who was a partner in a freighting company which in 1859 employed 500 wagons on the Western trails.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the year the following have been subjects for extended research: *Biography*: William Herbert Carruth; Joseph L. Bristow; William Jennings Bryan; Charles Rath of Dodge City; John R. Cook. *Education*: History of the Oxford High School; history of the College of Emporia; history of Walden College, McPherson. *General*: St. Louis and San Francisco railroad; farm-labor coöperation; Standard Oil Company; buffalo hunters; cattle industry; Kansas Editorial Association; prominent Kansas women; octagonal houses; Smith automobiles; Western outlaws; Kansas history, 1850-1860; United States military history; history of the oil industry; history of the Great Plains; Mid-Continent oil field; advertising in Kansas weeklies; road finance; Portsmouth conference.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1945, to September 30, 1946

Library:	
Books	1,006
Pamphlets	2,198
Magazines (bound volumes).....	None
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	3,048
Manuscript volumes	None
Manuscript maps	None
Private Manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	2,019
Volumes	51
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	297
Newspapers (bound volumes).....	723
Pictures	353
Museum objects	28

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1946

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	426,732
Separate manuscripts (archives).....	1,561,554
Manuscript volumes (archives).....	28,820
Manuscript maps (archives).....	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	12,983
Pictures	22,025
Museum objects	33,266

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

Now that the war is over the number of visitors at the Mission is increasing every month. Sight-seers include many club groups from Kansas City, Mo.

Minor repairs and improvements continue to be made on the property. The large signs on the highway in front of each building were repaired and painted and most of the rooms in the west building were papered and painted.

The Society is indebted to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of 1812, and to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for their continued coöperation at the Mission.

FIRST CAPITOL

Traffic through the Fort Riley reservation was prohibited during the war and visitors at the First Capitol building were limited to soldiers and their families. The road is again open and the number of visitors is almost back to prewar figures. Last summer the roof was repaired and all exterior wood-work was repaired and painted.

PIKE-PAWNEE MONUMENT

The legislature of 1945 appropriated \$1,500 to repair this monument, which was blown down in a wind storm. Specifications for a new shaft were made by the state architect and the work was completed early this fall. An old pipe fence enclosing approximately five acres around the monument is badly in need of repair. So far it has been impossible to find anyone who will bid on this work. There are other minor repairs which will be made as soon as conditions permit.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The various accomplishments noted in this report are due to the Society's splendid staff of employees. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them. Special mention should be made of George Root who will retire January 1 after fifty-five years of service. At the afternoon meeting he will give some recollections of his early days with the Society. I also wish to commend the heads of departments: Helen M. McFarland, librarian; Nyle H. Miller, microfilm director and managing editor of the *Quarterly*; Edith Smelser, custodian of the museum; and Mrs. Lela Barnes, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, Frank A. Hobbie moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by John S. Dawson.

President Denious then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the audit of the state accountant for the period
August 31, 1945, to August 17, 1946.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 31, 1945:

Cash	\$1,895.09
U. S. savings bonds, Series G.....	8,700.00
	\$10,595.09

Receipts:

Memberships	1,223.00	
Bond interest	242.50	
Reimbursement for postage.....	521.00	
Books	3.00	
		1,989.50
		\$12,584.59

Disbursements 776.65

Balance, August 17, 1946:

Cash	3,107.94	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G.....	8,700.00	
		11,807.94
		\$12,584.59

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 31, 1945:

Cash	\$133.02	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	950.00	
		\$1,083.02

Receipts:

Savings account interest	1.06	
Bond interest	27.27	
		28.33
		\$1,111.35

Disbursements, books 17.00

Balance, August 17, 1946:

Cash	144.35	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	950.00	
		1,094.35
		\$1,111.35

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 31, 1945:

Cash	\$38.40	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		\$538.40

Receipts:

Savings account interest.....	.56	
Bond interest	14.40	
		14.96
		\$553.36

Balance, August 17, 1946:

Cash	53.36	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		\$553.36

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. savings bond, Series G, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

ELIZABETH READER REQUEST

Balance, August 31, 1945:

Cash in membership fee fund.....	\$51.19	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G (shown in total bonds, membership fee fund).....	5,200.00	
		\$5,251.19

Receipts:

Interest	130.00	
		\$5,381.19

Balance, August 17, 1946:

Cash	181.19	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G.....	5,200.00	
		\$5,381.19

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. It is not a statement of the appropriations made by the legislature for the maintenance of the Society. These disbursements are not made by the treasurer of the Society, but by the state auditor. For the year ending June 30, 1946, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$60,810; Memorial building, \$20,298; Old Shawnee Mission, \$3,801; First Capitol of Kansas, \$1,134; Pike-Pawnee Monument, \$1,500.

On motion of T. M. Lillard, seconded by John S. Dawson, the report was accepted.

The report of the executive committee on the audit by the state accountant of the funds of the Society was called for and read by John S. Dawson:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 11, 1946.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Old Shawnee Mission from August 31, 1945, to August 17, 1946, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

On motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Mrs. W. D. Philip, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by John S. Dawson:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

October 11, 1946.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: Milton R. McLean, Topeka, president; Robert T. Aitchison, Wichita, first vice-president; R. F. Brock, Goodland, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board. There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2:30 p. m. The members were called to order by the president, Jess C. Denious.

The address by Mr. Denious follows:

Address of the President
NEWSPAPER ADVENTURE

JESS C. DENIOUS

THIRTY-FIVE years ago a young Kansan stood at the end of a newly built railroad grade and was so impressed by what he saw that the years intervening since that great moment have failed even to dim the picture. It was a busy scene, peculiarly set down in the quietness of a plains country. The mule skinnners were yelling curses at both men and animals, and nothing else could be heard except the frequent thuds of earth-moving equipment. The young man was deeply interested in the activities around the railroad construction camp, but was excited more by the thoughts that were in his mind. He was convinced that a new empire was being created there.

Years earlier the young man had concluded that the building of a railroad was an important civilizing influence. He had heard reports of how the building of railroads had transformed certain areas, formerly uninhabited, into fairylands of prosperity and good living. He had an urgent desire to witness and to participate in such a development, and was watching news reports to find out where the next railroad building might be expected.

So one glorious day when the young man was busily engaged in

the editorial department of the *Wichita Beacon*, a friend called for a brief visit and said he had heard the Santa Fe was planning to build a branch line southwest from Dodge City. The announcement was like a siren call to the young newspaper man. No other information was needed. He started the next day for Dodge City.

The first evening of that visit to Dodge City the young man sat in the lobby of the Harvey House and listened to a tale which described an earlier event in that community. It is related here because it helped to form the newcomer's first impression of Dodge City. It seemed that an evangelist had come to town and the gamblers and saloon keepers had chipped in to finance the evangelist's efforts. A contributor was Luke Short, one of the community's gentlemen gamblers. The evangelist, impressed by the gambler's generosity, immediately resolved that the chief purpose of his meetings should be the conversion of Luke Short. Repeated efforts were made to secure his attendance at the meetings and one evening Mr. Short appeared in the audience. With him were a number of his associates in the gambling business. When the invitation was given to those who wished to repent, Luke Short went forward to the mourner's bench, bringing to the evangelist a great emotional experience. The preacher told the audience he had just witnessed the crowning achievement of his ministry. Because of it he now felt that his position in the hereafter was firmly established, and that at that moment he was better prepared for heaven than he had ever been. In responding Mr. Short said he felt the same way about it and since all present seemed ready for heaven he believed that was the best time for them to go. Accordingly he drew out a couple of six shooters and began shooting out the lights. The man who told the story that evening said the evangelist went through an opening in the wall without first opening the window and was not seen there again.

The next morning the visiting newsman was interviewing a merchant in front of a shoe store when a small, but aged Mexican passed by. He seemed unable to raise his feet from the sidewalk, but moved with a shuffling sort of walk, dragging one foot forward and then the other. "That is Ben Hodges," said the merchant. "He rustled some cattle on the range south of here some years ago, and the cow hands hung him up by the heels. He has walked that way ever since."

Well, the visitor was learning some things about Dodge City's past but at that moment he was more concerned about its future.

"Yes, the Santa Fe is going to build a new railroad southwest from here," W. J. Fitzgerald reported. "We shall soon start getting right-of-way for the line." Others gave the same assurance. While no tangible evidence was at hand to show the railroad management's intentions, yet the local people told what the visitor wanted to hear and the mere prospect fanned his enthusiasm.

There were two weekly newspapers in Dodge City. Both were for sale. Except for the fact that neither plant had any equipment of value, and except for the further facts that they had little circulation, extremely small advertising patronage and no credit, they were going concerns. Either one could be bought for a song but, having only part of one song, the visitor bought a half interest in one of the newspapers. The owner of the other half interest at that time was W. E. Davis, then state auditor of Kansas.

Soon Mr. Fitzgerald had organized a campaign to secure right-of-way for the railroad, a project which was carried through successfully and promptly. A grading crew was at work. The dream of a new empire created by a new railroad seemed about to be realized. But the business of the community had not yet been helped in a material way. The newspaper business was not the flourishing thing the new editor had hoped it would be. Somehow, the credit of the newspaper seemed to increase more rapidly than its earning. The credit improvement was accounted for by a report circulated about town by Chalk Beeson who had owned and operated the famous Long Branch saloon in earlier days. After prohibition had come to Kansas he became a leader in the cattle business. Beeson had been the director of the Dodge City Cowboy Band which played at the inauguration of Pres. Benjamin Harrison and because of a remarkable personality he was prominent and popular in southwestern Kansas. Mr. Beeson owned the building in which the new editor rented quarters for his newspaper at the rate of \$15 per month. The landlord had confided to other businessmen that at the end of the first month the editor had mailed him a check for the rent, although he had not even called to request payment. Since he had never had such an experience with any of his other tenants, Mr. Beeson was inclined to recommend the new editor as a good financial risk. That recommendation from Mr. Beeson made the newspaper's credit secure in the community, at least where very small amounts were involved.

That first month of operating a weekly newspaper brought a major crisis in the enterprise. Youth, ambition and opportunity

gave a rosy hue to the outlook as the young editor saw it. Confident that a great development was at hand, he was impatient to rear there an institution that could contribute something to it and have a part in it. Unfortunately, the three mechanical employees did not share that outlook. Their dreams of the future were somewhat different, and apparently they saw no need of haste in building a better newspaper. The driving of the boss for better workmanship intensified the conflict. In a conference one Saturday afternoon a compositor suggested that the new boss had brought with him a lot of ideas and the quickest way to find out they wouldn't work would be for him to do the printing work himself. "I'm always grateful for suggestions," said the editor, "and I think I shall adopt the one you have just given me."

That employer never again adopted that attitude in conferences with employees. It was a mistake. How great a mistake it was became evident the next day when it was discovered that no one else in the community could take their places. The editor was stuck. Fortunately, he had had some experience in printing earlier, so he went to work alone and for three weeks printed the newspaper without assistance. It was a gruelling task involving long and anxious hours, so one day when Muskogee Red appeared in the office he was welcomed with open arms.

Muskogee Red was one of the last of the itinerant printers who roamed from one printing place to another, and from community to community. They were known as tramp printers. On their travels they were not particularly concerned about finding work, but preferred to take up a collection among printers to provide another day's subsistence. The interesting stories which the tramp printers brought from other localities always seemed to compensate for the money they took away. But this time Muskogee Red found no printers, and was persuaded to take off his coat and provide a little assistance for the wornout editor. By petting and promises Muskogee Red was kept on the job until other help could be secured. When at last he took his departure he carried with him the heaviest purse he had known for many months, but the size of the purse was no measure of the gratitude which the man he had rescued showered upon him as long as he lived. Muskogee Red had performed one of his most heroic missions.

The files of the newspaper ran back to 1878. As time permitted the editor entertained himself by looking through the files, which carried some lively reports of some of the incidents of the town's

saloon fights and dance hall developments which the editor concluded were quite worth reprinting. Exchanges were also reprinting some things taken from their own files, but none of them seemed to have the lilt and lift which characterized the stories of earlier days selected from the files for reprinting in the Dodge City paper. They made excellent copy until one day an acquaintance dropped into the office for a little visit. The visitor said there was a lot of commotion about town on account of some things the newspaper was printing. He referred to what had been reprinted in the current paper from the old files, and said that until he had read that he could not believe any newspaper would want to recall incidents in the lives of present residents of the town which were extremely embarrassing to them now that they have changed their ways of living. The story had reported some of the capricious performances of a dance hall character known as Lucky Lucy, or some such name. Further inquiry revealed that Lucky Lucy of dance hall fame had for many years been the wife of one of the prominent businessmen of the town. The old-timers had known Lucky Lucy of the dance hall era, and they also knew who she was at the time the story was reprinted. Then the visitor told how other stories from the files, which the editor had so much prized, had made things extremely embarrassing for persons who were still residents of Dodge City. The bound files of the paper which had been so innocently used in securing interesting material for publication, were closed that day and put away.

The newspaper earned a little more revenue as months went by, but collections for commercial printing were not good. Near the close of the first year the editor and the shop foreman had a conference at which it was revealed that the concern was losing money on commercial printing. "Then why don't you quit commercial printing and start publishing a daily newspaper?" said the foreman, all of which seemed like a good idea. The editor was inclined to accept the advice, but prudence prompted him to consult some of the businessmen before taking such a radical step.

The first conference on the subject was with George M. Hoover who had established the first place of business ever opened in Dodge City. The business was housed in a tent. The merchandise and equipment included a dozen tin cups and a barrel of whisky. Mr. Hoover had abandoned the liquor business when the prohibition amendment was put into the Kansas constitution, and had become president of one of the Dodge City banks.

This banker had earlier promoted a project for building a north and south railroad through Dodge City and had lost a considerable amount of money in the venture, but he was still a rich man, and one who was extremely generous in supporting community enterprises. He had such an affectionate regard for Dodge City that he later gave the city his entire fortune. His enthusiasm was quite restrained, however, when the proposed daily newspaper was mentioned. In the conference with him the editor had suggested that the building of the new railroad which was progressing rapidly was certain to bring Dodge City a considerable growth, that the larger population in prospect for the territory to the southwest offered a good circulation field for a daily newspaper, etc. "Don't do it," Mr. Hoover advised. Through the years, he said, he had known many young men who had come to Dodge City without experience in the ways of the plains people but full of ambition, and had launched enterprises with the expectation that the town would grow, that business would expand and that prosperity would rule. They were uniformly disappointed. Mr. Hoover said, "This town is supported by the employment provided by the railroad division headquarters and by the cattle business. There is no field here for other developments. This town will be no bigger and no better in 25 years than it is now, so get this notion of expansion out of your head."

Because of Mr. Hoover's reputation as a civic leader, the editor was not prepared for this. He was surprised and disappointed by the attitude Mr. Hoover revealed. Only a few days was required, however, to find that most of the other old-timers shared the opinion of Mr. Hoover about the future of that part of Kansas.

Robert M. Wright was once asked why, with so much land available, the town company had used so little of it in making such a narrow street of Chestnut street, at that time the principal business street of the town. Mr. Wright had been post trader at Fort Dodge before Dodge City was founded and had won and lost a half-dozen fortunes. He was also the author of the book, *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*. He was a member of the original company which laid out the town and could have had a wider Chestnut street if he had desired it. "Well," said Mr. Wright, "Chestnut street was made wide enough for two bull teams to pass, and it never occurred to us that a street wider than that would ever be needed."

Curiously enough, most of the old-timers in Dodge City had no faith in its opportunities for growth and progress. Most of them

advised the editor to follow a safer and more conservative program. He considered their advice carefully, and then promptly launched the daily newspaper.

The additional costs of operation brought about by a change from a weekly to a daily newspaper were considerable. New equipment had to be purchased, and obligations assumed for monthly payments on notes given to supply houses. So the publisher soon found himself with more obligations than cash. Although Mr. Hoover, the banker, had opposed the plan of starting a daily newspaper and was now in a position to say, "I told you so," the circumstances made a visit to Mr. Hoover imperative. Strangely enough, the banker seemed not to resent the fact that his earlier advice had been disregarded, but listened attentively as the publisher poured out his story of why a loan of \$300 was needed. Mr. Hoover's response will never be forgotten by that publisher. There was a semblance of a smile on his face as he leaned back in his swivel chair and said: "I have known personally every man who ever had a newspaper in this town, and I have made loans to every one of them without exception. The notes are still here in the bank. None of them has been paid. But even a banker ought to be fair, and having made loans to all the other newspaper men who have come along, I see no reason for making an exception of you. So just sign here and I'll give you the \$300 you want."

He didn't say, "I'll lend you \$300." Instead he said "I'll give you \$300," and that is what he thought he was doing.

Around any newspaper office there are interesting incidents every day, and sometimes amusing ones. The character of the incidents, however, has changed a great deal since the days when journalism was a more personal matter than it is now.

The building of a new railroad line from Dodge City southwest did not attract as much attention as similar developments closer to population centers, but in proportion to the population involved the results were perhaps as spectacular as those which have attended the construction of new rail lines anywhere.

During the first ten years after the building of this railroad Dodge City's population was doubled. It was doubled again in the next ten years. The process might have been repeated again in the terrible '30's except for the prolonged drought and the economic depression extending through those years. In spite of the war activities during the early '40's the population may again be doubled in the present decade.

The building of that branch-line railroad has added much to the agricultural resources of this state. Millions of fertile acres, formerly used only as cattle range, have helped to make Kansas known as the greatest wheat-producing area of the nation.

With the discovery of natural gas which is excellent industrial fuel and even more important as industrial raw material, with great quantities of potter's clay, silica and other minerals, including unusual deposits of underground water, southwestern Kansas may yet become a paradise for small industry.

The branch-line railroad will continue to be an influence in all such developments.

It will continue to bring more and more of opportunity to the resourceful and self-reliant people who now populate the area, people who are still not too conservative to take a chance, and who are worthy successors of that hardy race of men and women who pushed the frontier westward from county to county in order to work out their own salvation in their own sweet way.

So the young newspaper man, now grown older with the march of years, who impatiently rushed to southwestern Kansas at the mere suggestion of new railroad construction there, and who tackled every opportunity with more rashness than wisdom, has had an experience that has been pleasant and interesting, sometimes exciting and always satisfying. He is more than ever convinced that the course of empire follows the development of transportation facilities.

Following the address of the president, the report of the membership committee was given by Standish Hall, chairman:

Shortly after the annual meeting last year, in conference with President Jess Denious, Vice-President M. R. McLean and your Secretary, Kirke Mechem, a plan was developed to make available, in the various counties, memberships in the Kansas State Historical Society. The intent was to avoid any high-pressure sales program but rather to make it possible for those who would naturally be interested in our work to become members.

The first step was to set up a state membership committee and the following were asked to serve on this committee and all very graciously accepted: D. R. Anthony, Leavenworth; Roy F. Bailey, Salina; Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg; R. F. Brock, Goodland; F. L. Carson, Wichita; Charles C. Durkee, Kansas City; Frank A. Hobbie, Dodge City; H. K. Lindsley, Wichita; Mrs. Roy V. Shrewder, Ashland; Donald Stewart, Independence; J. R. Stone, Topeka.

The next step was to select membership representatives in each county. In some instances, where no directors or members were available, old-timers or civic leaders were invited to serve. A great deal of interest has been shown

in this program and we wish particularly to commend W. H. Montgomery, Robert Rankin, Homer K. Ebright, Frank Hodges, Miss Ada Remington, Walter McKeen, Herman W. Cramer, H. C. Raynesford, Cecil Kingery, William E. Smith, J. C. Ruppenthal, Milton R. McLean and Robert L. Smith. Just this morning (October 15) F. H. Cron brought in eight new memberships and promises us at least eight more.

The total results lie I think more in the state-wide interest that has been developed than in the memberships received. We do however feel that the number obtained is a record to be proud of and I am pleased to report that 110 new members have been added. This is the most in any recent year.

After all there is not a county that is not represented both in our newspaper collection and in our museum and there is not a county that does not have a number of old-timers or the children of old-timers who are sincerely interested in our program. Your committee feels that reasonable efforts should be made to reach these people and give them the opportunity of associating actively with the rest of us in the Kansas State Historical Society's program. Memories are short and the years roll by amazingly fast. It is only through directed efforts and a well organized program such as ours that the fine historical background of Kansas, of which we are all so proud, can be handed down to our children and grandchildren in the years to come.

STANDISH HALL, *Chairman.*

That section of the secretary's report summarizing the work of the microfilm division was not read at the morning meeting of the directors but was presented at this time to the annual meeting of the Society, and members were invited to visit the camera room at the close of the meeting.

After reading his report on microfilming, the secretary introduced George A. Root who will retire January 1, 1947, after fifty-five years' service as a member of the Society's staff. Mr. Root then spoke briefly. His remarks follow:

When I "accepted a position" with the State Historical Society in 1891, I little dreamed I was taking a life-time job. I had planned to do other things in the near future. However, I found the work congenial and interesting. Something new and interesting was bobbing up every day. I had been brought up in a printing office, and anyone who has served an apprenticeship in an old-time office where a paper was published will never forget the hurry and scurry on press day to get the paper out on time. My new job was different, and while there was plenty of work to do, it was congenial. Being the only "boy" on the job it fell to my lot to tackle anything that came along. "Variety is the spice of life," and I confess I got plenty of it.

The Historical Society in 1891, when I began, was located in the west wing of the state house, and occupied the southwest corner room on the ground floor. The board of railroad commissioners was our neighbor on the east, while across the hall to the north was the academy of science and the state board of agriculture. The east and west wings of the capitol were the only ones completed at this time. A runway, built across the areaway beneath the dome, connected

the two wings, and over the "corduroy road" of 2x12s, those passing from the east to west wing were obliged to walk.

Lyman U. Humphrey was governor at this time and served until 1893. He was succeeded by Lorenzo D. Lewelling, who had been chosen to represent "the first People's Party government on earth," as a Populist historian of the hour put it. The outstanding event of his administration was the famous "Legislative War" that occurred soon after he took office. In 1895 he was succeeded by E. N. Morrill, banker of Brown county. John W. Leedy, another Populist, was his successor. Then followed Wm. E. Stanley, Willis J. Bailey, E. W. Hoch, W. R. Stubbs, George H. Hodges, Arthur Capper, Henry J. Allen, Jonathan M. Davis, Ben S. Paulen, Clyde M. Reed, Harry H. Woodring, Alf M. Landon, Walter A. Huxman, Payne H. Ratner and Andrew Schoeppel. This makes a total of nineteen Kansas governors I have served under. During this time Kansas' population increased from about 1,428,000 in 1890 to 1,784,453 in 1946, while that of Topeka increased from about 31,000 in 1890 to over 79,000 in 1946.

One of the most pleasing features of my service with the Society was the privilege and opportunity to meet so many of the old-timers who helped shape the destinies of Kansas, when they came to attend annual meetings or dropped in for casual visits when in Topeka. During the early 1890's the Society's meetings were not overly attended, and I had a good chance to shake hands and chat with many of them who have long since passed out of the picture, and whose names are now unknown to most of the present-day generation.

Of the Society's personnel—past and present—I can say that it has been a pleasure to have served the Society along with them, my service dating back and commencing while Judge Franklin G. Adams was secretary. He was probably the most scholarly secretary of the Society, was a pioneer of 1855, and actively identified with Kansas during the stirring days preceding statehood. He served as secretary from 1876 to 1899, and was succeeded by George W. Martin. Mr. Martin was also early in Kansas, arriving in 1857, and settling for a time at Lecompton. He was a printer, published the *Junction City Union* for a number of years, and also the *Kansas City Daily Gazette*, and had previously been state printer for several terms. He was a vigorous writer, had a most picturesque vocabulary, and was said to have known more men in Kansas politics than any other Kansas individual. Upon his death in 1914, Wm. E. Connelley was chosen to succeed him, and served up to the time of his death in 1930. Fred B. Bonebrake, of Topeka, was chosen to act as secretary during the interim preceding the annual meeting that year. He was succeeded by Kirke Mechem, present secretary, and one I trust will serve the Society and the state for many years to come. Mr. Bonebrake passed away on August 15, 1943. He was a native of Shawnee county, his parents settling at Auburn about 1859.

Since becoming a member of the working force of the Society, I have served under every one of its secretaries, a total of more than fifty-five memorable years. And these years have been a wonderful course in Kansas history for me. Were it possible I should like to have been able to pass along to whom-ever succeeds me, the scattered shreds of Kansas history I have picked up during a busy life. I am close to the four-score mark in years; am the oldest relic on the state's payroll in point of continuous service, but plan to retire

at the close of the present year and devote the balance of my allotted years to getting acquainted with my family and grandchildren.

One of my earliest and most interesting jobs was helping sort the McCoy collection of manuscripts. These were letters, papers, records, etc., of the Rev. Isaac McCoy, early Baptist missionary in Kansas. These papers were stored in a trunk or two, a few boxes, and packages, and probably had never been disturbed since they had been packed before the Civil War. They had at times been stored in barns, outbuildings, etc., during the Civil War days, hidden any place to keep them from falling into the hands of anyone who might be apt to destroy them. As the Society had not sufficient room to permit of sorting, a room in an old brick residence that stood on the north-west corner of Eighth and Harrison streets was rented and the sorting done there. A Miss Maggie Merry assisted me, and the manuscripts were placed in chronological order by varieties. These were later bound in about 35 or more volumes.

Following Mr. Root's remarks, the report of the committee on nominations was called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

October 11, 1946.

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1949:

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
 Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council
 Grove.
 Brock, R. F., Goodland.
 Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
 Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
 Frizell, E. E., Larned.
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
 Hall, Standish, Wichita.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.

Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
 Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
 Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
 Owen, Dr. Arthur K., Topeka.
 Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
 Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
 Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Wheeler, Mrs. Bennett R., Topeka.
 Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

Upon motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Standish Hall, the report of the committee was accepted unanimously and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending October, 1949.

Reports of county and local societies were called for and were given as follows: Fred W. Brinkerhoff for the Crawford County Historical Society; and the Rev. Angelus Lingenfelser for the Kansas Catholic Historical Society. The secretary stated that other reports had been received by mail.

There being no further business the annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by Mr. Denious. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The report was read by John S. Dawson, chairman, who moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Mrs. W. D. Philip and the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: Milton R. McLean, Topeka, president; R. T. Aitchison, Wichita, first vice-president; R. F. Brock, Goodland, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Meechem, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1946

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1947

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Beck, Will T., Holton.
 Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
 Carson, F. L., Wichita.
 Chambers, Lloyd, Wichita.
 Dawson, John S., Hill City.
 Durkee, Charles C., Kansas City.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Hobbie, Frank A., Dodge City.
 Hogin, John C., Belleville.
 Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 McLean, Milton R., Topeka.
 Malin, James C., Lawrence.

Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Redmond, John, Burlington.
 Russell, W. J., Topeka.
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
 Smith, William E., Wamego.
 Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
 Somers, John G., Newton.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
 Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
 Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
 Wilson, John H., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1948

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
 Browne, Charles H., Horton.
 Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B.,
 Kansas City.
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
 Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.
 Gray, John M., Kirwin.
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
 Harger, Charles M., Abilene.
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
 Long, Richard M., Wichita.
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.

Malone, James, Topeka.
 Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
 Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
 Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
 Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
 Schulte, Paul C., Leavenworth.
 Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
 Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
 Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
 Stone, John R., Topeka.
 Stone, Robert, Topeka.
 Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
 Templar, George, Arkansas City.
 Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
 Walker, B. P., Topeka.
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1949

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
 Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council
 Grove.
 Brock, R. F., Goodland.
 Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
 Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
 Frizell, E. E., Larned.
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 Hall, Standish, Wichita.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.

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 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
 Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
 Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Wheeler, Mrs. Bennett R., Topeka.
 Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

Bypaths of Kansas History

TRACK LAYING ON THE UNION PACIFIC

From the *Leavenworth Weekly Commercial*, June 20, 1867.

An observer thus tells how the track-laying on the Pacific railroad is done: "A small car having been loaded in the same manner and with the same precision as the large ones had been, was run forward to the end of the track by horse-power. A couple of feet from the end of the rails already laid down checks were placed under the wheels, stopping the car at once. Before it was stopped, a dozen men grasped a rail on each side, ran it beyond the car, laid it down on its chairs, gauged it, and ere its clank ceased to reverberate, the car was run over it and another pair of rails drawn out. This process was continued as rapidly as a man would walk. Behind the car followed a man dropping spikes, another setting the ties well under the heads of the rails, and thirty or forty others driving in the spikes and stamping the earth under the ties. The moment that one car was emptied of its iron, a number of men seized it and threw it off the track into the ditch and the second followed on with its load."

LOVE IN BLOOM

From the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, May 13, 1868.

A newly married couple, from some place away up the Kaw, made their appearance on the streets yesterday, who had evidently been united so recently as to still be under the influence of the "gentle delirium." In passing down Massachusetts street, in the distance of one square, they stopped four times on the sidewalk to kiss, and otherwise exchange compliments. 'Twas a sweet and touching sight.

INDIANS VS. THE UNION PACIFIC

From the *Marysville Enterprise*, May 16, 1868.

A band of Indians, ten or twelve in number, attacked one of Shoemaker, Miller & Co., trains, seventeen miles west of Coyote [the fight took place in present northern Gove county], at about noon today, and burned three freight cars on a side track, tore down the telegraph poles, and destroyed a portion of the track. They also attempted to throw a construction train from the track, but failed. A number of other Indians were seen at some distance off, but how many was not known.—*Lawrence Tribune*, 9th.

From the *Junction City Weekly Union*, May 16, 1868.

A few days after the recent attack by Indians on the construction train west of Coyote, our Railroad friends tell us that the Indians attempted to capture the locomotive alive. They took a large quantity of telegraph wire, and doubling it several times, stretched it across the track, an Indian or two holding each end. They didn't want to shoot the thing lest they might injure it, and hence this strategy. . . .

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The high school career of Clyde Tombaugh, Pawnee county farm boy who later discovered the ninth planet, Pluto, is described by Harry Rigby, first principal of Burdett Rural High School, in an article entitled, "The Stars Dipped Down Over Burdett," in the September, 1946, issue of the *Kansas Teacher*, Topeka. While a high school student Tombaugh constructed a home-made nine-inch Newtonian telescope. He is now a visiting professor of astronomy at the University of California.

Among articles of particular interest to Kansans in the September, 1946, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, were: "How Lakes-Came to Kansas," by Edwin O. Stene; "Study of the Production of DDT," by T. T. Castonguay and R. L. Ferm; "Kansas Mycological Notes: 1945," by S. M. Pady, C. O. Johnston and E. D. Hansing; "Kansas Botanical Notes: 1945," by Frank C. Gates; "The Yellow-headed Blackbird in Douglas County," by H. W. Setzer and R. L. Montell, and "Milkweed Floss Collection in Kansas," by C. F. Gladfelter.

Biographical sketches of Dr. Arthur E. Hertzler, of Halstead, famous surgeon and writer, were published in many Kansas newspapers following his death on September 12, 1946. He was the author of *The Horse and Buggy Doctor* (1938), and other books.

A number of historical articles of interest to Kansans, written by Cecil Howes, have been printed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* in recent months. They include a sketch of Col. Samuel N. Wood, a leader of Free-State settlers who was slain years later in the Stevens county-seat war, September 16, 1946; a discussion of the purposes of American Indian day together with a sketch concerning tribes who settled in the area embraced by present Kansas, September 23; "Pony Express, Planned in Kansas City, Edged Out by Telegraph 85 Years Ago," October 21; a sketch of the career of George A. Root, who was a staff member of the Kansas State Historical Society for more than 55 years, October 28; "'Lord' William Scully's Kansas Domain Caused Absentee Landlordism Crisis," November 6; "Dozens of Heavily Traveled Trails in Kansas Are Forgotten in History," November 16, and "Annexation of Kansas City, Mo., to Kansas Was Attempted at Least Three Times," December 12.

Articles by Mr. Howes in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included "Kansas Has Neglected the Sunflower, Raised Commercially in Other States," August 31, 1946, and a sketch on the founding of Topeka, December 4.

An airship hoax of 50 years ago was recalled by the *Le Roy Reporter*, September 20, 1946. The *Reporter* recounted the circumstances surrounding the tale of the late Alexander Hamilton of Le Roy and Vernon. It concerned an airship which swooped low over the Hamilton ranch, manned by foreigners who roped a heifer from the feed lot. Mr. Hamilton's story was printed in *The Farmers Advocate*, Yates Center, April 23, 1897. Its subsequent appearance in the metropolitan newspapers brought inquiries concerning the "mysterious airship" from places as far distant as London.

The *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, has entered its seventy-fifth year of publication and issued an anniversary edition on September 26, 1946. The issue contains a picture of the early day cabin of Dr. Bruce Higley, still standing on Beaver creek. It was in this cabin in the 1870's that Dr. Higley composed the words to the song, "Home on the Range." Articles in the anniversary issue include a historical sketch of Smith Center, by Mrs. Florence Uhl; "Some Early Day Happenings in the Lebanon and Salem Communities," by Ray Myers; "Pioneer Physicians and Remedies Used in Early Days of Smith County," by Margaret A. Nelson; "Organization of Smith County" and "Harlan Vicinity Settled by Iowans in Early Seventies."

A 96-page "Chautauqua County Honor Roll Edition," containing pictures of more than 600 men and women who served in World War II, was published by the *Sedan Times-Star*, September 26, 1946. The issue contained individual sketches of veterans, listing the theaters in which each served and awards received. "Chautauqua County Home Front Does Part in World Conflict" was the title of one of the featured articles. Another told the story of Maj. Gen. Clarence L. Tinker, who was lost in action in the Battle of Midway. General Tinker attended schools at Elgin and Sedan.

Neodesha newspapers printed a number of historical sketches in connection with the city's diamond jubilee celebration held October 30 and 31, 1946. A series of articles entitled "Diamond Jubilee" appeared in the *Neodesha News*, September 26, October 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, November 7, 14, 21, 28 and December 5. Mrs. Kate Winter

Pingrey was the author of a group of historical sketches published in the *Neodesha Register*, September 19, 26, October 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, November 7 and 14. The city was incorporated in 1871.

The story of the Pony Express which was operated across north-east Kansas in 1860-1861 was reviewed by Milton Tabor in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 13, 1946. Another feature was a page illustrated article on Holton, entitled "Backbones of the American Way, Country Towns Are Here to Stay," by Rachel Snyder.

A brief description of early days on Medicine creek, Rooks county, appeared in an article in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, October 17, 1946. The description is from a letter written by the late S. S. Boggs, county surveyor, who settled in Rooks county in 1871.

The *Augusta Daily Gazette* issued a 24-page edition featuring historical articles on October 21, 1946. It was printed in connection with the city's jubilee celebration, marking the seventy-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of the municipality in 1871. Augusta was named for Mrs. Augusta James, wife of C. N. James, first postmaster and prominent citizen, the *Gazette* said. Articles in the jubilee edition included a historical sketch of Augusta and Augusta township by N. A. Yeager; stories of Augusta's school system and early merchants, by Stella B. Haines; an early-day history of Douglass by Daisy Shamleffer; a description of the early days at Rose Hill; a biography of G. C. Wirth, government teamster on the plains in the 1860's, and a biographical sketch of August Kuster, early settler and former county official. Illustrations included portraits of C. N. James and Mrs. Augusta James; a 1917 view of Haskins camp, a settlement south of Augusta during the oil boom; the Frisco band of the late 1890's, and the baseball team about 1905.

The *Iola Register* entered its fiftieth year of publication as a daily newspaper on October 25, 1946. The daily *Register* was established on October 25, 1897, by the late Charles F. Scott, who for 15 years previously had edited the weekly *Register*. The weekly edition was discontinued several years after the daily *Register* was founded. Angelo Scott is the present editor and publisher.

A story by Ralph Wallace of the teaching career of Howard R. Barnard of LaCrosse, who founded the Entre Nous school in Rush county in the early 1900's, was printed in *The Rotarian*, Chicago, November, 1946. A condensation of the article, entitled "Great

Teacher of the Plains," appeared in *The Reader's Digest*, Pleasantville, N. Y., November, 1946. Mr. Barnard is librarian of the La-Crosse city library.

Two articles are devoted to the late John Steuart Curry, Kansas artist, in the Winter, 1946, number of *The University of Kansas City Review*. They were written by Thomas H. Benton and S. A. Nock. Another article on Curry's career, by John Alexander, was published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, August 30, 1946.

Several historical articles appear in the 1947 issue of *The Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan. They include "William Allen White: Composite American," by Walter Johnson; "The High Priest of Horse Sense," a story of the life of Walt Mason, by Harry Levinson; "Saga of the Plains Jack Rabbit," by Theo. H. Scheffer; "Rugged Individuals," pointing out many odd names among early-day newspapers, by Cecil Howes; "Martial Music of the Civil War," by Henry Ware Allen; "John Steuart Curry," by Maynard Walker, and "The Tree Apostle of Kansas," a chapter in the life of Richard Smith Elliott, by Edwin W. Mills.

Kansas Historical Notes

Readers of the *Quarterly* who have been following Dr. Robert Taft's popular series, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West," will be glad to know that he has promised another installment for an early issue. Dr. Taft's bread and butter happen to be derived from his position as a chemistry professor at the University of Kansas, and the school's record-breaking enrollment, together with the pressure of other editorial duties, have prevented him from completing the next article. By an odd coincidence, his story on the paintings of Custer's Last Stand in our November issue was published under the same date that another article on the subject by Don Russell appeared in *The Westerners Brand Book*, the official publication of a Chicago club of Western writers. Readers interested in the subject will want both of these articles.

The Eisenhower family home in Abilene where General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower was reared, is to be preserved as the center of a \$1,000,000 memorial to the Allied supreme commander in Europe in World War II and all members of the U. S. armed forces, according to C. M. Harger, president of the Eisenhower Memorial Foundation. Plans for the memorial include a site embracing the block in which the two-story white frame house is located and the erection of a shrine in which General Eisenhower's collection of war mementos, honors, and medals will be exhibited. The Eisenhower brothers will deed the family home and grounds to the Foundation. Approximately \$50,000 has been raised by the citizens of Abilene and Dickinson county, and the campaign for funds is now branching out to cover the state and nation.

B. M. Ottaway of Pomona was elected president of the Franklin County Historical Society at the annual meeting held in Ottawa, September 6, 1946. F. H. McCune was named vice-president and Mrs. Charles Averill, recording secretary. Miss Clara Kaiser, corresponding secretary and treasurer, was reelected. Mrs. Laura Penny, J. M. Conard and Edmund Lister were named to the board of directors for three-year terms. Mr. Lister was the retiring president.

The Clark county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society published Volume IV of its series entitled *Notes on Early Clark County, Kansas* in September, 1946. The volume contains articles

reprinted from the society's historical column in *The Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, from September, 1942, to August, 1945; marriage records of the county from July 11, 1885, to 1903, inclusive; names of the men and women of Clark county who served in World War II, and biographical sketches of those who gave their lives. Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder and Mrs. Melville Campbell Harper are editors of the series. Publication of other historical articles was resumed in the *Clipper* on September 12, 1946. These stories will appear from time to time until a sufficient number have been printed to make a volume, when they will be reprinted as Volume V. The society's annual meeting and "Pioneer Mixer" was held at Ashland, November 30, 1946. Willis H. Shattuck was the principal speaker. The newly-elected officers include: Mrs. Ethel Gardiner Wilson, president, and Pearl G. Abell, vice-president.

The forty-sixth annual meeting of the Douglas County Old Settlers Association was held in Lawrence, September 14, 1946. Officers elected were: Mrs. Lena K. Huddleston, president; Mrs. Ralph Graber, vice-president; I. F. Eberhart, secretary; Mrs. I. F. Eberhart, assistant secretary; Mrs. Nellie C. Bigsby, treasurer; Dr. Edward Bumgardner, historian, and his son, Edward S. Bumgardner, assistant historian. Col. Lathrop Read, Jr., the principal speaker, gave an account of his war experiences. Mrs. Ida Swadley, daughter of A. B. Wade, one of the early settlers, stated that she was born in the first house built in Lawrence.

Officers of the Chase County Historical Society were reelected at the annual meeting held in Cottonwood Falls, September 21, 1946. They are: George T. Dawson, Elmdale, president; Henry Rogler, Matfield Green, vice-president; Mrs. Helen Austin, Cottonwood Falls, secretary; Tom R. Wells, Elmdale, treasurer, and Mrs. Clara B. Hildebrand, Cottonwood Falls, historian. Mr. Dawson reappointed the following executive committee: C. W. Hawkins, Clements; H. Jones, Cedar Point; D. M. Smith and George Miller, Cottonwood Falls, and Mr. Rogler.

Officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society of northeast Johnson county elected September 23, 1946, include: Mrs. K. S. Browne, president; Mrs. Frank Belinder, vice-president; Mrs. James K. Parr, recording secretary; Mrs. Thomas Nall, treasurer; Mrs. Tom Davis, curator; Mrs. John Barkley, historian; Mrs. Arthur Wolf, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Percy Miller, lady-in-waiting. Mrs. A. M. Meyers was the retiring president.

W. L. Young of Council Grove was elected chairman of the Kansas chapter of the American Pioneer Trails Association at a meeting held in rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, September 30, 1946. He succeeds Dr. George W. Davis of Ottawa.

A permanent organization was formed by the Decatur County Historical Society at a meeting in Oberlin, October 7, 1946. Officers named were: H. Q. Banta, president; E. R. Woodward, vice-president; Dr. A. J. Thomsen, treasurer, and Ben Miller, secretary. The following directors were chosen: E. W. Coldren, Guy C. Allen, and Miss Lillian Shimmick. The directors together with the officers will comprise the executive board. The Decatur county commissioners recently made available for the society's use a room in the old high school building where historical objects and documents will be displayed.

Clyde K. Rodkey was elected president of the Riley County Historical Association at the annual meeting in Manhattan, October 9, 1946. Other officers elected were: Mrs. C. B. Knox, vice-president; Mrs. Medora Hays Flick, secretary; Joe D. Haines, treasurer, and F. I. Burt, curator. Directors elected for three-year terms were: Mrs. Caroline A. Smith, Dr. N. D. Harwood and Mrs. Flick. Walter E. McKeen was the retiring president. A major achievement of the association for the year was its sponsorship of a plan for a Peace Memorial building honoring the service men and women of the county. After public discussion of the proposal, Manhattan citizens voted on November 5 for an \$800,000 bond issue to cover the erection of a memorial building consisting of an auditorium seating 4,000 persons, and other rooms.

Dr. O. P. Dellinger of Pittsburg was reelected president of the Crawford County Historical Society at the annual meeting held in Pittsburg, October 21, 1946. Mrs. F. A. Gerkin of Girard was named vice-president. Other officers who were reelected include: Mrs. C. M. Paris of Pittsburg, recording secretary; Mrs. C. D. Gregg of McCune, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Grace Elliott of Pittsburg, treasurer. Directors named for three-year terms were: Oscar Anderson of Farlington, and E. B. Riordan and Frank Clayton of Pittsburg. George F. Beezley of Girard was also named a director to succeed the late H. W. Shideler of Girard. Dr. Ernest Mahan of Kansas State Teachers' College at Pittsburg discussed research and historical studies on Crawford county by students of the college, Mrs. A. C. Graves described the settlement of Beulah and Mrs. Nannie Sears presented a history of the *Headlight*, first

daily paper in Pittsburg, which was established by her husband, M. F. Sears. The daily edition of the *Headlight* was founded in July, 1886, and has been published continuously since April 18, 1887.

Three hundred persons attended the old settlers' reunion of the Kiowa County Historical Society at Greensburg, October 29, 1946. Edgar B. Corse was elected president and Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver was reelected secretary. Other officers named were: Henry Schwarm, Mrs. Emma Meyer and Bert Barnes, vice-presidents, and Mrs. Carrie Allphin, treasurer. Carey C. Morford was the retiring president.

Mrs. T. W. Riner was elected president of the Protection Historical Society at the second annual meeting held November 5, 1946. Other officers elected were: Claude Rowland, W. T. Maris, Mrs. A. A. Carpenter and Pirl Baker, vice-presidents; Mrs. Robert C. Swenson, recording secretary; Mrs. Howard Shrauner, corresponding secretary; Harry Large, treasurer, and Miss Ida Bare, historian. Fred Denney was the retiring president.

Permanent officers of the newly-formed Shawnee County Historical Society were selected by the society's administrative council at a meeting November 8, 1946. They are: Robert Stone, president; Mrs. Erwin Keller, vice-president; Paul B. Sweet, treasurer; George A. Root, secretary, and Paul Adams, assistant secretary. Members of the administrative council are: Arthur J. Carruth, Jr., Mr. Root, Cecil Howes, Mr. Adams, Mr. Sweet, Paul Lovewell, Milton Tabor, J. Glenn Logan and Mr. Stone. The first open meeting of the society was held on December 5, 1946, the ninety-second anniversary of the founding of Topeka. Miss Maude Bishop, for many years a member of the Topeka High School faculty, gave a talk on early Topeka history. Mr. Root also spoke. In connection with the meeting, facts on the founding of Topeka and data on the first settlers in the area now embraced in Shawnee county were printed in an article by Milton Tabor in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 5, 1946, and in a sketch in the *Topeka State Journal*, December 5. The first issue of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, edited by Cecil Howes, was published in December. Articles in the *Bulletin* included: "Chronology of Shawnee County," by George A. Root; "Oldest House in Kansas," by Milton Tabor; "100 Years Ago the First Grocery Was Started in Shawnee County," by Paul A. Lovewell, and "Ghost Towns of Shawnee County," by Mr. Howes.

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THE COVER

An air view of the United States Navy's heavy cruiser *Wichita*, named for Wichita, Kan. The ship was commissioned February 16, 1939, and served throughout World War II.

This picture and others (*between pp. 120, 121*), excepting that of the cruiser *Topeka*, are official U. S. Navy photographs. The view of the *Topeka* (*facing p. 121*) was received through the courtesy of Mayor Frank J. Warren, Topeka, and the Bethlehem Steel Co., Quincy, Mass.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XV

May, 1947

Number 2

Ships in World War II Bearing Kansas Names

Compiled by HAROLD J. HENDERSON

I. INTRODUCTION

AT LEAST fifty-four vessels in World War II were named for Kansans, or for cities, counties and rivers of the state. They included twenty-one navy ships and thirty-three cargo vessels of the U. S. Maritime Commission.

Of these 54 vessels five were named for war heroes, 29 for other individuals associated with Kansas, nine for cities of the state, eight for counties and three for rivers.

The five vessels named for war heroes were navy fighting ships, honoring native Kansans who met death in enemy action. Five other navy ships carried the names of Kansas cities, and eleven navy ships bore the names of counties and rivers in the state.

Four Victory cargo vessels of the U. S. Maritime Commission also were named for cities of the state and 29 Liberty cargo ships for individual Kansans.

The number of navy vessels bearing names of Kansas heroes or names associated with Kansas, by type, were: Two cruisers, one heavy (CA) and one light (CL); two destroyers (DD); three destroyer escorts (DE); three frigates (PF); two cargo, attack vessels (AKA); five transport, attack vessels (APA); one barrack ship, self-propelled (APB), and three oilers (AO).

The cruisers named for Kansas cities were the *U. S. S. Wichita* and *U. S. S. Topeka*.

Two destroyers, *U. S. S. Hawkins* and *U. S. S. Timmerman*, were named for marine corps heroes born in Kansas, who lost their lives in enemy action in the Pacific and who posthumously received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Three destroyer escorts bore the names of navy heroes, two of them airplane pilots. These vessels

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were: *U. S. S. Kendall C. Campbell*, *U. S. S. Tabberer* and *U. S. S. Wintle*.

Frigates were named for three Kansas cities: Emporia, Hutchinson and Abilene.

Kansas counties for which the navy named cargo, transport and barrack ships were: Clay, Haskell, Kingman, Logan, Ottawa, Rawlins, Sheridan and Trego.

Ships were named for these Kansas rivers: Caney, Chikaskia and Neosho.

Names of Liberty ships were chosen from more than 60 categories. Liberty vessels were named for 29 individuals associated with Kansas, who held the following posts or practiced these professions:

Agriculturist, American Legion national commander, aviator, builders who developed various natural resources, cabinet member, missionary, educators, engineers, explorers, governors, editors, jurists, pioneers and regional heroes, scientist, railroad men, senators, nurses, women noted in American history and writers.

Four cities after which Victory ships were named were selected as being representative of Kansas communities. The selection was made by the naming committee of the U. S. Maritime Commission, with the navy's approval.

The first launching of a Liberty ship named in honor of a Kansan was the *David J. Brewer*. Brewer was a Leavenworth jurist who served on both the state supreme court and federal circuit bench prior to more than 20 years' service as an associate justice of the U. S. supreme court. The *David J. Brewer* went down the ways November 26, 1942, followed in less than a month by the *Jim Bridger* and *Amelia Earhart*.

The first Victory ship named for a Kansas city was the *Atchison Victory* which was launched on April 22, 1944. Other Victory vessels bearing the names of cities within the state were: *Chanute Victory*, *Coffeyville Victory* and *Salina Victory*.

While Liberty and Victory ships are both cargo vessels, identical in carrying capacity, the Liberty is somewhat easier and faster to build and was turned out in great numbers early in the war. It was later superseded by the Victory ship, a vessel of more refined hull lines and 50 to 75 per cent faster than the Liberty, whose speed of 10 to 12 knots was ideal for mixed convoy work. However, the Victory ship's additional speed, ranging from 15 to 20 knots, enabled the vessel to move cargo considerably faster.

The Liberty vessel is a steel, full scantling type vessel with a raked stem and cruiser stern. The propelling machinery consists of a reciprocating steam engine directly connected to a single screw.

The Victory cargo vessel is a steel, shelter deck type vessel with a raked stem and cruiser stern. The propelling machinery consists of cross compound turbines geared to a single screw.

Information concerning ship names, places of construction and launching and commissioning dates used in this article was obtained through correspondence with the bureau of naval personnel, Navy department; director of public information, United States Maritime Commission, and the Historical Society's newspaper clippings.

II. UNITED STATES NAVAL VESSELS

Following is a list of navy ships in World War II named for native Kansans and for cities, counties and rivers of the state:

U. S. S. Wichita (CA-45), launched November 16, 1937; commissioned February 16, 1939; Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa., shipbuilder; named for city of Wichita.

U. S. S. Topeka (CL-67), launched August 19, 1944; commissioned December 23, 1944; Bethlehem Steel Company, Fore River, Mass., shipbuilder; named for city of Topeka.

U. S. S. Timmerman (DD-828), under construction; Bath Iron Works Corporation, Bath, Maine, shipbuilder; named in honor of Sgt. Grant Frederick Timmerman (1919-1944), of the marine corps, a native of Americus, Lyon county. He was killed in action July 8, 1944, on Saipan, Marianas Islands. Sergeant Timmerman was awarded the Medal of Honor, Bronze Star Medal, Purple Heart with Gold Star, Presidential Unit Citation, 1943, Tarawa, Gilbert Islands; Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal, American Defense Service Medal and China Service Medal.

The Medal of Honor was awarded posthumously to Sergeant Timmerman with the following citation:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty as Tank Commander serving with the Second Battalion, Sixth Marines, Second Marine Division, during action against enemy Japanese forces on Saipan, Marianas Islands, on 8 July 1944. Advancing with his tank a few yards ahead of the infantry in support of a vigorous attack on hostile positions, Sergeant Timmerman maintained steady fire from his anti-aircraft sky mount machine gun until progress was impeded by a series of enemy trenches and pillboxes. Observing a target of opportunity, he immediately ordered the tank stopped and, mindful of the danger from the muzzle blast as he prepared to open fire with the 75-mm., fearlessly stood up

in the exposed turret and ordered the infantry to hit the deck. Quick to act as a grenade, hurled by the Japanese, was about to drop into the open turret hatch, Sergeant Timmerman unhesitatingly blocked the opening with his body, holding the grenade against his chest and taking the brunt of the explosion. His exceptional valor and loyalty in saving his men at the cost of his own life reflect the highest credit upon Sergeant Timmerman and the United States Naval Service. He gallantly gave his life in the service of his country.

U. S. S. Hawkins (DD-873), launched October 7, 1944; commissioned February 10, 1945; Consolidated Steel Corporation, Orange, Tex., shipbuilder; named in honor of First Lt. William Deane Hawkins (1914-1943) of the marine corps, a native of Fort Scott. He was killed in action November 21, 1943, at Tarawa Atoll, in the Gilbert Islands, and was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. Other awards received by Lieutenant Hawkins, included: Purple Heart, 1943, Gilbert Islands; Presidential Unit Citation, 1942, Solomon Islands; and Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal, 1942-1943, Asiatic Pacific area.

The award of the Congressional Medal of Honor to the marine lieutenant was for service as set forth in the following citation:

For valorous and gallant conduct above and beyond the call of duty as Commanding Officer of a Scout Sniper Platoon attached to the Second Marines, Second Marine Division, in action against Japanese-held Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands, November 20 and 21, 1943. The first to disembark from the jeep lighter, First Lieutenant Hawkins unhesitatingly moved forward under heavy enemy fire at the end of the Betio pier, neutralizing emplacements in coverage of troops assaulting the main beach positions.

Fearlessly leading his men on to join the forces fighting desperately to gain a beachhead, he repeatedly risked his life throughout the day and night to direct and lead attacks on pill boxes and installations with grenades and demolitions. At dawn on the following day, First Lieutenant Hawkins returned to the dangerous mission of clearing the limited beachhead of Japanese resistance, personally initiating an assault on a hostile position fortified by five enemy machine guns and, crawling forward in the face of withering fire, boldly fired point blank into the loopholes and completed the destruction with grenades. Refusing to withdraw after being seriously wounded in the chest during this skirmish, First Lieutenant Hawkins steadfastly carried the fight to the enemy, destroying three more pill boxes before he was caught in a burst of Japanese shell fire and mortally wounded. His relentless fighting spirit in the face of formidable opposition and his exceptionally daring tactics were an inspiration to his comrades during the most crucial phase of the battle and reflect the highest credit upon the United States Naval Service. He gallantly gave his life for his country.

U. S. S. Wintle (DE-25), launched February 18, 1943; commissioned July 10, 1943; Navy Yard, Mare Island, Cal., shipbuilder;

named in honor of Lt. Comdr. Jack William Wintle (1908-1942), native of Pittsburg. He died November 13, 1942, in enemy action in the Pacific area.

Commander Wintle received the American Defense Medal—Fleet Clasp, 1939-1941, and the posthumous award of the Navy Cross with the following citation:

For extraordinary heroism in the line of his profession during action with enemy forces on the night of November 12-13, 1942, on which occasion the force to which he was attached engaged at close quarters and defeated a superior enemy force. His daring and determination contributed materially to the victory which prevented the enemy from accomplishing their purposes.

He was assigned on April 29, 1942, as aide and flag lieutenant, South Pacific and South Pacific Force. He was advanced to lieutenant commander on June 15, 1942.

U. S. S. Tabberer (DE-418), launched February 18, 1944; commissioned May 23, 1944; Brown Shipbuilding Company, Houston, Tex., shipbuilder; named in honor of Lt. (jg) Charles Arthur Tabberer (1915-1943), native of Kansas City. He died as a result of enemy action in the Pacific area, the presumptive date of his death being August 8, 1943. He was officially reported missing in action as of August 7, 1942, having been attached to a fighting squadron when the plane he was piloting was lost in the Pacific area.

Lieutenant Tabberer was awarded the American Defense Service Medal, Asiatic-Pacific Area Campaign Medal, and the Distinguished Flying Cross with the following citation:

For heroism and extraordinary achievement during action against enemy Japanese forces in the Solomon Islands on August 7, 1942. Leading a two-plane section of his squadron against a hostile force of 27 twin-engined bombers, Lieutenant (junior grade) Tabberer, although viciously intercepted by Zero fighters, gallantly pressed home his attacks until his plane was shot down. His courageous fighting spirit and resolute devotion to duty contributed to the destruction of at least five enemy bombers and undoubtedly played a major role in disrupting the Japanese attack.

U. S. S. Kendall C. Campbell (DE-443), launched March 19, 1944; commissioned July 31, 1944; Federal Shipbuilding & D. D. Company, Newark, N. J., shipbuilder; named in honor of Ens. Kendall Carl Campbell (1917-1943), a native of Garden City. He died as a result of enemy action in the Asiatic area, the presumptive date of his death being May 9, 1943. Ensign Kendall was officially reported missing in action May 8, 1942, when the plane in which he was flying failed to return from the Battle of the Coral Sea.

He was awarded the American Defense Service Medal, 1939-

1941, the Navy Cross and the Gold Star in lieu of the second Navy Cross.

The Navy Cross was awarded with the following citation:

For extraordinary heroism and extreme disregard of his own personal safety as pilot of an airplane of a Scouting Squadron in attacks against enemy Japanese forces during the period of May 4-8, 1942. Participating in offensive action against the enemy with aggressive skill and courageous determination, in the face of tremendous anti-aircraft barrage, Ensign Campbell contributed materially to the sinking or damaging of eight enemy vessels in the Tulagi Harbor on May 4 and to the sinking of an enemy aircraft carrier in the Coral Sea on May 7.

Again, on May 8, while on anti-torpedo plane patrol, he fiercely engaged the combined attack of enemy bombing and torpedo planes and their heavy fighter support. His conscientious devotion to duty and gallant self-command against formidable odds were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

U. S. S. Emporia (PF-28), launched August 30, 1943; commissioned June 12, 1944; Walter Butler Shipbuilders Inc., Superior, Wis., shipbuilder; named for city of Emporia.

U. S. S. Hutchinson (PF-45), launched August 27, 1943; commissioned February 3, 1944; Consolidated Steel Company, Los Angeles, Cal., shipbuilder; named for city of Hutchinson.

U. S. S. Abilene (PF-58), launched August 21, 1943; commissioned October 28, 1944; Globe Shipbuilding Company, Superior, Wis., shipbuilder; named for city of Abilene.

U. S. S. Trego (AKA-78), acquired by the navy July 4, 1944; commissioned December 21, 1944; North Carolina Shipbuilding Company, Wilmington, N. C., shipbuilder; named for Trego county.

U. S. S. Ottawa (AKA-101), acquired by navy January 9, 1945; commissioned February 8, 1945; North Carolina Shipbuilding Company, Wilmington, N. C., shipbuilder; named for Ottawa county and also for counties of the same name in three other states.

U. S. S. Neosho (AO-48), acquired by navy August 4, 1942; commissioned September 12, 1942; Bethlehem Steel Company, Sparrows Point, Md., shipbuilder; named for Neosho river.

U. S. S. Chikaskia (AO-58), acquired by navy January 10, 1943; commissioned November 10, 1943; Bethlehem Steel Company, Sparrows Point, Md., shipbuilder; named for Chikaskia river.

U. S. S. Caney (AO-95), acquired by navy March 25, 1945; commissioned March 25, 1945; Marinship Corporation, Sausalito, Cal., shipbuilder; named for Caney river.

U. S. S. Clay (APA-39), acquired by navy June 29, 1943; commissioned June 29, 1943; Western Pipe & Steel Company, San Francisco, shipbuilder; named for Clay county and also for counties of the same name in 17 other states.

U. S. S. Sheridan (APA-51), acquired by navy July 31, 1943; commissioned July 31, 1943; Moore Shipbuilding Company, Oakland, Cal., shipbuilder; named for Sheridan county and also for counties of the same name in four other states.

U. S. S. Haskell (APA-117), acquired by navy September 9, 1944; commissioned September 11, 1944; California Shipbuilding Corporation, Wilmington, Cal., shipbuilder; named for Haskell county and also for counties of the same name in two other states.

U. S. S. Logan (APA-196), acquired by navy October 14, 1944; commissioned October 14, 1944; Kaiser Company, Vancouver, Wash., shipbuilder; named for Logan county and also for counties of the same name in nine other states.

U. S. S. Rawlins (APA-266), acquired by navy November 11, 1944; commissioned November 11, 1944; Kaiser Company, Vancouver, Wash., shipbuilder; named for Rawlins county.

U. S. S. Kingman (APB-47), launched April 17, 1945; commissioned June 16, 1945; Missouri Valley Bridge & Iron Company, Evansville, Ind., shipbuilder; named for Kingman county.

III. SHIPS OF THE UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION

Following are the 29 Liberty ships named for individuals associated with Kansas and the four Victory cargo vessels named for cities of the state:

Mary Bickerdyke, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 1, Richmond, Cal., October 27, 1943; named in honor of Mrs. Mary Bickerdyke (1817-1901), best known as "Mother Bickerdyke," who achieved fame as one of the most capable and beloved women who ministered to the sick and wounded during the Civil War. She made enlisted men her special care and was a champion of their rights. In 1867 she initiated a movement to get ex-soldiers to go West and the migration of 300 families to Kansas is attributed to her influence.

David J. Brewer, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 1, Richmond, Cal., November 26, 1942; named in honor of David J. Brewer (1837-1910), an associate justice of the

United States supreme court for more than 20 years. He settled at Leavenworth shortly after being admitted to the New York bar in 1858. In 1870, at the age of 33, Judge Brewer was elected to the Kansas supreme court. His elevation to the United States supreme court came in 1889 after service on the federal circuit court of the eighth circuit.

Jim Bridger, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., December 17, 1942; named in honor of James Bridger (1804-1881), frontiersman and scout, who was the first white man to visit the Great Salt Lake. He established a station, Fort Bridger, on the Oregon trail in southwestern Wyoming in 1843. Prior to becoming a government scout in the 1850's, he purchased a farm near Kansas City. He retired from the plains and mountains in 1868 and died at his home near Kansas City in 1881.

William H. Carruth, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., October 31, 1943; named in honor of William H. Carruth (1859-1924), author and one of the leading linguistic scholars of the West. He served the University of Kansas, from which he was graduated, as professor of modern languages, head of the department of German language and literature, and from 1887 to 1913 as vice-chancellor. "Each in His Own Tongue," a poem, was his best known work.

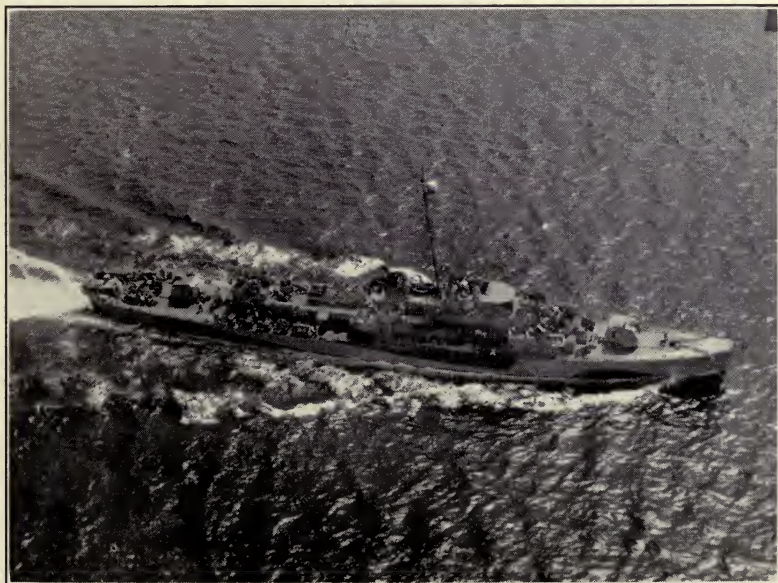
Arthur P. Davis, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., July 23, 1943; named in honor of Arthur P. Davis (1861-1933), director of the U. S. Reclamation Service from 1914 to 1923 and known as the father of Boulder or Hoover dam. He was hydrographer in charge of hydrographic examination of the Panama canal route, 1898-1901, and planned and supervised construction of more than 100 dams including Roosevelt dam and the large reservoir on the Mokelumne river, source of water for the San Francisco bay area. Davis was reared at Junction City and was graduated from the Kansas State Normal School at Emporia.

Lewis L. Dyche, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., November 26, 1943; named in honor of Lewis L. Dyche (1857-1915), naturalist. He made 23 scientific expeditions and hunted over North America from Mexico to Alaska and Greenland, securing for the University of Kansas its extensive collection of North American vertebrates. He was professor of anatomy and taxidermist and curator of mammals, birds and fishes at the university. The fish hatchery at Pratt was expanded by him.

UNITED STATES NAVAL VESSELS BEARING KANSAS NAMES



Destroyer *U. S. S. Hawkins*, named in honor of Marine First Lt. William Deane Hawkins (1914-1943), native of Fort Scott, as it appeared on the day it was commissioned, February 10, 1945.

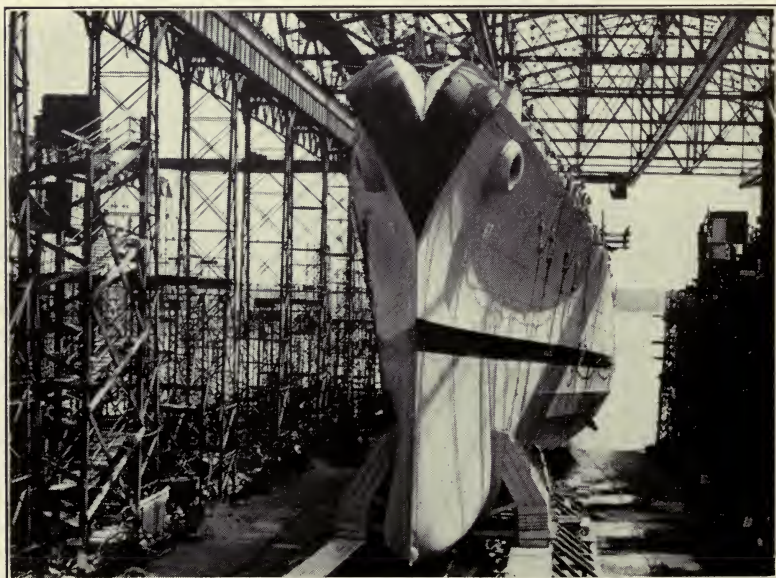


Destroyer Escort *U. S. S. Kendall C. Campbell*, named in honor of Ens. Kendall Carl Campbell (1917-1943), a native of Garden City. These ships are among several named for native-born Kansans who were honored as heroes of the navy and marine corps.

KANSAS-NAMED SHIPS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY



The *U. S. S. Ottawa*, a cargo, attack vessel, was named for Ottawa county and counties of the same name in three other states. This picture was taken February 13, 1945, at the U. S. navy yard, South Carolina, five days after the ship was commissioned.



Launching of the *U. S. S. Topeka*, a light cruiser named for the capital city of Kansas, at the Fore River yard, Quincy, Mass., August 19, 1944. The cruisers *Wichita* and *Topeka* are the heaviest Kansas ships afloat. The *U. S. S. Kansas*, a battleship, was scrapped in 1924.

Amelia Earhart, launched at Houston Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Houston, Tex., December 18, 1942; named in honor of Amelia Earhart (Mrs. George P.) Putnam (1898-1937), the first woman to make a solo flight across the Atlantic and the second person to make that flight alone. The famous aviatrix was a native of Atchison. She was voted the Distinguished Flying Cross by congress and was the first woman to receive the gold medal of the National Geographic Society, the highest award of the society.

Wyatt Earp, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., July 25, 1943; named in honor of Wyatt Earp (1848-1929), frontier marshal. Earp was a hunter for a railroad surveying party and later a professional buffalo hunter. He gained fame for his courageous exploits as a peace officer at Wichita, Dodge City and Tombstone, Ariz., where he encountered some of the most notorious gunmen of the frontier.

Carl R. Gray, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., November 9, 1943; named in honor of Carl R. Gray (1867-1939), president of the Union Pacific Railroad for 17 years and director of the division of operations of the United States Railroad Administration in World War I. Successive promotions in the Frisco railroad's freight department at Wichita, marked the early path of his career which began as telegraph operator for that railroad at Oswego. He served as president of the Great Northern and Western Maryland railroads and chairman of the board of the Wheeling and Lake Erie prior to becoming president of the Union Pacific in 1920.

James B. Hickok, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 2, Richmond, Cal., February 26, 1943; named in honor of James B. Hickok (1837-1876), popularly known as Wild Bill, frontier marshal at Hays and Abilene as well as Union scout and spy in the Civil War. Captured and sentenced to be shot as a spy more than once, he was successful in escapes from his Confederate captors. He was marshal of Hays in the late 1860's and became marshal of Abilene in 1871, when it was a shipping point for Texas cattle.

Cyrus K. Holliday, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., November 4, 1943; named in honor of Cyrus K. Holliday (1826-1900), father of the Santa Fe railroad. He was with the party which selected the Topeka townsite and was the first president of the town company. In 1859, while a member

of the territorial council, Holliday secured enactment of a bill chartering the Atchison & Topeka Railroad Company, which later became the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. He was an adjutant-general of Kansas in the Civil War.

Richard J. Hopkins, launched at Houston Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Houston, Tex., October 2, 1944; named in honor of Richard J. Hopkins (1873-1943), judge of the United States district court for Kansas for more than 13 years. He served in all three branches of the Kansas state government—executive, legislative and judicial. He was speaker pro tem of the house of representatives in 1909, lieutenant governor in 1911-1912, attorney general from 1919 to 1923 and associate justice of the state supreme court from 1923 to 1929.

John J. Ingalls, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., July 8, 1943; named in honor of John James Ingalls (1833-1900) of Atchison, United States senator from 1873 to 1891. Ingalls achieved a national reputation as an author and orator. His sonnet, "Opportunity," is ranked among the best American poems. He was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention and judge advocate of the Kansas militia in the Civil War.

Martin Johnson, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., April 12, 1944; named in honor of Martin Johnson (1884-1937), famous motion-picture explorer, who was educated in the Independence schools. He and his wife, Osa Leighty Johnson, were in the South Sea islands 12 years, Australia one year, Borneo two years, and Africa five years. They made a film record of the vanishing wild life in Africa and a sound film of the life of the pygmies.

Vernon L. Kellogg, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., July 15, 1943; named in honor of Vernon L. Kellogg (1867-1937), one of Kansas' most distinguished scientists and a native of Emporia. He served on the faculty at the University of Kansas from 1890 to 1894. He was director in Brussels of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium in 1915 and 1916 and from 1917 to 1919 was assistant to the United States food administrator. From 1919 to 1931 he was secretary of the National Research Council.

John Chester Kendall, launched at New England Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, South Portland, Maine, May 9, 1944; named

in honor of John Chester Kendall (1877-1941), state dairy commissioner of Kansas in 1907-1908. He subsequently served as professor of dairy husbandry at Kansas State Agricultural College until 1910.

James Lane, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., October 30, 1943; named in honor of James Henry Lane (1814-1866), Free-State leader and one of the first two United States senators elected from Kansas. He was president of the Topeka constitutional convention. In the Civil War he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers by President Lincoln with authority to raise two regiments. These troops operated in western Missouri in 1861. He obtained enactment of congressional measures granting lands to Kansas to aid in the construction of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Fort Gibson railroads.

Isaac McCoy, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., December 2, 1943; named in honor of Isaac McCoy (1784-1846), pioneer Baptist missionary to the Indians. In the 1820's he advocated a plan to remove the Indians living east of the Mississippi to new reservations in the West. He was appointed by the secretary of war in 1830 as surveyor and agent to assist the Indians in this removal. He surveyed or arranged for the survey of most of the Indian reservations in Kansas and the Cherokee outlet in Oklahoma and also devoted his efforts to establishing and sustaining missions for the Indians.

Enos A. Mills, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., December 6, 1943; named in honor of Enos A. Mills (1870-1922), naturalist, lecturer and author, who was a native of Linn county. He was a guide on Long's Peak, which he climbed more than 250 times. Mills extensively explored the Rocky Mountains on foot and was the father of Rocky Mountain National Park, which was created after several years of almost single-handed campaigning on his part. He was an exponent of forest conservation and served as federal lecturer on forestry, from 1907 to 1909, being appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt. Among his books were *In Beaver World* and *The Story of a Thousand Year Pine*.

Ralph T. O'Neil, launched at the Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 2, Richmond, Cal., May 19, 1944; named in honor of Ralph T. O'Neil (1888-1940), attorney and national commander of the American Legion in 1930-1931. He was a native of Osage City and a graduate of Baker University. In World War I, he served

with the 11th U. S. infantry, advancing to captain. He was a member of the state board of regents from 1932 to 1940 and chairman of the board in 1938-1939.

Vernon L. Parrington, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 2, Richmond, Cal., October 21, 1943; named in honor of Vernon L. Parrington (1871-1929), author and historian. He was reared in Emporia and attended the College of Emporia where he was later an instructor from 1893 to 1897. Parrington gained renown as the author of *Main Currents in American Thought*, published in 1927 when he was professor of English at the University of Washington.

William Peffer, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 2, Richmond, Cal., January 7, 1944; named in honor of William Alfred Peffer (1831-1912), United States senator from 1891 to 1897. He was a pioneer lawyer and newspaper editor and became a leading Populist writer and speaker. In 1881 he assumed the editorship of the *Kansas Farmer*. When the Farmer's Alliance entered the state, the *Farmer* became the official paper for one branch of the organization.

Albert A. Robinson, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 2, Richmond, Cal., November 29, 1943; named in honor of Albert A. Robinson (1844-1918), railroad builder and a leading figure in the construction of much of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad system. He served as chief engineer and second vice-president and general manager in his 22-year span of service. More than half of the 9,000 miles comprising the system when he left it in 1893, was built under his direction as chief engineer, and his skill was credited with playing a vital part in the rapid extension of the Santa Fe. He also helped in the construction of the St. Joseph & Denver City railroad.

Charles Robinson, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 2, Richmond, Cal., June 28, 1943; named in honor of Charles Robinson (1818-1894), first governor of the state of Kansas. A physician and editor, he came to Kansas in 1854 as resident agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. He conducted two groups of emigrants who began the settlement of Lawrence. Robinson was elected governor in 1859 under the provisions of the Wyandotte constitution but did not take office until Kansas was admitted as a state in 1861.

Edmund G. Ross, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., October 22, 1943; named in honor of

Edmund G. Ross (1826-1907), United States senator from 1866 to 1871. He was a Free-State leader and member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention. Ross edited newspapers at Topeka and Lawrence before entering the senate and afterwards edited papers at Coffeyville and Lawrence. He was appointed governor of the New Mexico territory in 1885.

Samuel Vernon Stewart, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., January 7, 1944; named in honor of Samuel Vernon Stewart (1872-1939), who was reared in Coffey county and served as governor of Montana from 1913 to 1921. He attended Kansas State Normal School at Emporia two years and received an LL. B. degree from the University of Kansas in 1898. Stewart served as associate justice of the Montana supreme court from 1933 until the year of his death.

Robert J. Walker, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., February 2, 1943; named for Robert J. Walker (1801-1869), territorial governor of Kansas in 1857. Prior to the governorship he had served as senator from Mississippi and was secretary of the treasury in President Polk's cabinet. It was Governor Walker's rejection of fraudulent returns in Oxford precinct, Johnson county, which enabled the Free-State majority to gain control of the legislature in 1858.

William Allen White, launched at the Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 2, Richmond, Cal., May 8, 1944; named in honor of William Allen White (1868-1944), newspaper editor and author. He was sent to France in 1917 as an observer by the American Red Cross. White in 1940 was founder and chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Among his best known books are: *The Court of Boyville*, *Stratagems and Spoils*, *In Our Town*, *A Certain Rich Man*, *The Old Order Changeth* and *In The Heart of a Fool*.

Samuel W. Williston, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation, shipyard No. 2, Richmond, Cal., October 6, 1943; named in honor of Samuel W. Williston (1852-1918), paleontologist and physician, and also one of the world authorities on diptera. He was reared in Manhattan and was graduated from Kansas State Agricultural College, after which he was employed by Othniel C. Marsh of Yale University as a collector in Cretaceous chalk beds of western Kansas. He became professor of anatomy at Yale and later served at the University of Kansas as professor of geology and vertebrate anatomy and dean of the medical school. He was the author of

Manual of North American Diptera, which has been widely used in Europe.

Atchison Victory, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., April 22, 1944; named for city of Atchison.

Chanute Victory, launched at California Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Wilmington, Cal., January 19, 1945; named for city of Chanute.

Coffeyville Victory, launched at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation shipyard, Portland, Ore., July 3, 1945; named for city of Coffeyville.

Salina Victory, launched at Permanente Metals Corporation shipyard, Richmond, Cal., November 24, 1944; named for city of Salina.

Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864

PART ONE, 1856

I. INTRODUCTION

FOUR of Julia Louisa Lovejoy's letters were published in volume 11 of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. They told of the Lovejoys' journey to Kansas and their settling at Manhattan in 1855. The letters that follow continue the story of Mrs. Lovejoy's pioneer experiences, as described in her correspondence to Eastern newspapers and in personal letters to her family in New Hampshire. Letters from her son and husband are also included.

Not long after their arrival in the territory the Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy was placed in charge of the Fort Riley mission. After serving five months he was assigned to Lawrence by the Methodist Episcopal Church conference of November, 1855.¹ The family, however, remained for a time on their claim adjoining Manhattan in order to hold it. Their first winter in the territory was unusually cold and in their "balloon" house² Mrs. Lovejoy had difficulty in keeping her family from freezing. She wrapped her baby in her furs and blankets "to keep him from perishing, near the stove." "O how I sighed," she wrote, "for a comfortable home, in N. E. again."³ In the spring of 1856 Mr. Lovejoy was sent East to solicit funds to build a church, and when he returned in August he moved his family to Lawrence. For two years they lived in Lawrence when the excitement of the Border trouble was at its height.

The Methodist conference of April, 1857, transferred Mr. Lovejoy to the Oskaloosa mission. Since there was no parsonage on the circuit and houses were scarce, Julia and her small son, Irving, moved to a claim at Palmyra, ten miles south of Lawrence.⁴ Here she lived in a little log cabin in the woods. With her two-year-old son she spent many days and nights entirely alone, "in times when strong-minded men feared for their personal safety."⁵ She fared

1. Julia L. Lovejoy, "Diary," May 5, 1856.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

2. A ready-made house shipped in.—*Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, September, 1859. In a letter of May 30, 1857, Julia stated that this was the claim of their son, Charles J.

Palmyra was laid out by the Palmyra Town Company in June, 1855. When Baldwin was founded in 1858 adjoining Palmyra on the south, Palmyra's business enterprises soon moved to the new town and Palmyra ceased to exist.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 355.

5. Julia L. Lovejoy, "Diary," September, 1859.

better the next year, however, when her husband was sent to Sumner,⁶ at that time a thriving town on the Missouri river. On the bluffs overlooking the river he built a frame house and moved his family there. Julia was delighted with her home. She also enjoyed the people of Sumner, the majority of whom had come from New England. For the first time she felt at home in Kansas territory.

The Lovejoys were permitted to stay only two years in Sumner, for in March, 1860, they were assigned to Olathe.⁷ Only about a dozen Methodists lived in this circuit and there was but a "faint prospect, of a support for his family."⁸ House rent was also high, so Julia and Irving moved back to Palmyra, now called Baldwin City.⁹ On June 12, 1860, Julia wrote in her diary:

We are now dwellers in a cozy little cabin 12 by 16 feet, built of unhewed logs, the interstices, daubed with clay, one half a window-frame with a few panes of glass, and aside from the annoyances of mice, and other troublesome vermin, that by right of "pre-emption," & "pre-occupancy" infest our quiet retreat, we should find ourselves, very pleasantly situated for this Conference-year. Mr. Lovejoy's field of labor, is 25 miles, from the residence of his family. . . .

Julia had long wanted to visit her family in New Hampshire¹⁰ and at last her desire was realized in August of 1860, when she and Charles made the journey together. Their visit, however, was saddened by the news of the death of their daughter, Mrs. Juliette Whitehorn, at Manhattan in November.¹¹ They remained two years in the East, returning to Kansas in March, 1862. Charles was assigned to the Wyandotte circuit and Julia and her son again returned to their claim at Baldwin City.

In April, 1863, Charles Lovejoy enlisted in the army, becoming chaplain of the Seventh regiment, Kansas cavalry.¹² His son, Charles J., had previously enlisted and was adjutant in the Twelfth regiment, Kansas Volunteer infantry.¹³ Late in the year Chaplain Lovejoy was stationed at the Post Hospital, Corinth, Miss. Julia

6. Sumner was surveyed and platted in 1856. From 1856 to 1859 the town had a mushroom growth, but after that it declined rapidly. It is now extinct.—Sheffield Ingalls, *History of Atchison County* (Lawrence, 1916), pp. 85-90.

7. Julia L. Lovejoy, "Diary," March 20, 1860.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1860.

10. Julia Lovejoy to her parents, July 13, 1859.

11. Juliette Whitehorn was the wife of Dr. Samuel Whitehorn. She died at Manhattan November 20, 1860, at the age of 21.—*Western Kansas Express*, Manhattan, December 15, 1860.

12. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65* (Topeka, 1896), p. 214.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 420.

joined him and began teaching a school for white children during the day and one for Negroes in the evening. This proved too strenuous for her and her health began to fail. Early in 1864, when the Post Hospital was moved to Memphis and the Seventh Kansas was ordered to Leavenworth, Julia returned to her home, reaching there some time in February.

In the fall of that year the Lovejoys changed their membership to the Free Methodist church, the Methodist Episcopal church having become too formal for Charles.¹⁴ When the war was over they were sent to a pastorate at Lebanon, Ill. They remained one year, then returned to Kansas, arriving in September, 1866.¹⁵ Although they continued their church work, Charles and Julia Lovejoy made their farm near Baldwin their permanent home. Here Julia died on February 6, 1882.¹⁶

During the early years Julia Lovejoy had been kept busy looking after her home and family while her husband was away, sometimes weeks at a time, on his circuit. She nevertheless found time to keep up her correspondence for a number of newspapers. In a letter to her family she wrote: "there is not one button, or patch off of anything in my gem of a Cottage, and within less than a week, I have sent to the press at St. Louis, Cleveland, Ohio, and Baldwin City ten communications."¹⁷

Some of the papers for which she wrote were: *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H., *Granite State Whig*, Lebanon, N. H., *New York Tribune*, *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass., *Central Christian Advocate*, St. Louis, Mo., and the *Christian Messenger*, Montpelier, Vt. She was editor of the "Ladies' Department" of *The Western Spy*, Sumner, and wrote for various other Kansas papers.

Mrs. Lovejoy wrote of events taking place in the territory, the suffering and hardships of the pioneers, relief, crops, the gold rush, etc., but the burden of her song was the political struggle between the Free-State and Proslavery adherents. She and her husband were strong Abolitionists even when the name carried a stigma with it. And the murder of Charles' cousin, Elijah P. Lovejoy, at Alton, Ill., by a Proslavery mob only intensified their hatred of slavery. Julia urged her family and friends to migrate to Kansas to help the Free-State cause. Her letters did much to attract the

14. *The Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, February 23, 1882; Charles H. Lovejoy to relatives in the East, August 28, 1866.

15. Julia Lovejoy to her parents, September 10, 1866.

16. *The Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, February 23, 1882.

17. Julia Lovejoy to her father and mother, July 13, 1859.

attention of Eastern people to the struggle in the territory. They also brought down the wrath of the Border Ruffians upon her, and attempts were said to have been made to kill her and Mr. Lovejoy.¹⁸ Her descriptions of Border warfare agree in the main with historical accounts. Possibly there are some exaggerations, but she endeavored to get the truth, saying: ". . . We always write things just as they are, to the best of our knowledge, and if we afterwards learn that we are misinformed, we invariably send a correction, if the affair is of any moment."¹⁹

At the time when Julia Lovejoy was writing for newspapers there were few women correspondents in the United States. Women had not yet been emancipated politically and it was considered unladylike to take part in politics. Julia had previously had little use for women politicians and apologized for her activities. In a letter of December 2, 1857, she wrote:

But we want to say a few things with regard to matters politically, in this our adopted home. As much as we *once hated* the idea of women politicians, no true woman who has been cradled among the liberty loving people of New Hampshire, . . . could be in Kansas, and *see what we have seen* and *feel what we have felt*, and not wax enthusiastically zealous for universal freedom.²⁰

Copies of Mrs. Lovejoy's personal letters were given to the Historical Society by Mrs. Ellen Emeline Webster, her grandniece. The newspaper clippings and a diary were the gift of her son, Irving R. Lovejoy.

II. THE LETTERS

LAWRENCE, KANSAS TERRITORY,
September 5th, 1856.

MR. EDITOR²¹—I am not able to sit up but a few moments, having had a severe attack of bilious intermittent fever, and my husband sick with bilious fever at the same time, and our nurse, who kindly proffered his aid, being an old gentleman upwards of 70, crippled with rheumatism. Altogether, in these "dark days" of crime, we have had a sorry time of it, as every hour almost, of our sickness, some startling intelligence of new murders and depredations saluted our acutely nervous senses. Thanks to an ever watchful Providence, we are both now convalescent.

Our hearts sicken at the atrocities perpetrated daily upon the

18. From unidentified newspaper clippings giving the notice of Julia Lovejoy's death, one was written by her brother, A. C. Hardy.

19. Letter of Julia Lovejoy, dated May 26, 1859, in *Zion's Herald*.

20. Letter to *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

21. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

innocent and unoffending.—Ossawattamie has been laid in ashes, every house burned, and four of our men killed.—The gallant Brown, while searching after his saddle, was shot dead in the street. Fifty Ossawattamie families shelterless, are now living in their wagons in the woods, endeavoring to escape these fiends in human form—Heaven and Elijah's ravens to feed them! This was a beautiful town, about the size, I think, of Lawrence. Judge Wakefield's house and four of his neighbor's were burnt night before last. The ruffians have burnt every Free State man's house in Leavenworth, pressed the men into their service, at the peril of their lives, driven the women and children, with just the clothes on their backs, into the boats and sent them down the River. Children with no parents to take care of them, were pushed into the boat and sent off too! Our men have driven their army twice this week, at the North, between here and Lecompton, and near Black Jack, between this place and Westport. At Black Jack the two armies were drawn up in line of battle, a ravine separating them, but after viewing our brave fellows, they concluded that running was the better part of valor, and took to their heels, and put spurs to their horses, as though Lucifer was hard after them, and entered Westport, (as we learned by a lady who came in the stage yesterday from thence) and told the people that "Lane had 10,000 men, and was coming down to destroy the place," and they went to fortifying the town. Lane had about four hundred men with him, all told, and they, 'tis said, numbered five to his one! What brave fellows these ruffians are when they are not sucking whiskey!

Our men took a lot of teams, etc., yesterday, they had arrived within a few miles of Lawrence, and were coming to burn the place. A company met them, and fired once, when every man fled to Lecompton. Not one house have our people burnt here, only the forts that were taken honorably in war—but *they* are burning houses, stealing, murdering and abusing the prisoners they take, by chaining some, threatening to scalp others and in every way make them miserable, whilst *our* prisoners are treated as guests. Two seated on their carpeted floors in their nicely furnished room, told a friend of mine who visited them yesterday, "that when they left Platte City to come here to fight, the ladies told them not to come back without bringing some Yankee scalps!" They said "for the future they should pursue a different course."

The people of Westport have great cause for alarm, for the ghosts of murdered victims, we have no doubt, are haunting the place, and

ere long their blood will be avenged! Our men have gone over the river, to help the Delaware Indians, today. The Ruffians are stealing their horses, and committing other depredations amongst them, burning one of their houses and an Indian boy with it—this will arouse their ire, and they are a powerful tribe. Now these fellows will find they have got somebody besides Yankees to fight! The Sacs that passed through here, we hardly think will *dare* to fight us, because they will lose their lands by so doing. A scout is now watching on Oread Mount, a few rods from my window, in the direction of Lecompton.

All our men and teams were taken that went to Leavenworth to get us something to eat; when not one sack of flour could be got in town, three men sent down the River, two killed and the teams kept. A lady drove up to Lecompton, and told them "she wanted eleven sacks of flour for the troops." They mistrusted nothing, as she, I think, had been cooking for the troops with Mrs. Robinson. She got her flour, carried it to Governor Robinson's tent, and in due time it came safely here, but the troops will hardly grow fat upon it! What is *this* to feed so great a multitude? I cannot write half the enormities practised here—I must cease or bring on a reaction of my disease.

If any of our friends feel a disposition to contribute their mite to aid those who are periling their lives and their *all* for the sake of freedom, it will be very thankfully received. Our losses by border ruffianism fall more heavily now in these times of scarcity for food.—Money cannot be sent safely—but a check on any good Bank, St. Louis, Chicago or any other, would answer just as well, let the sum be ever so *small*.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

LAWRENCE, KAN. TERRITORY,

September 19, 1856.

MR. EDITOR ²²:—There have been times in life's history, when under circumstances like those that surround us this moment it would have been impossible for us to have written or even composed our nerves sufficiently to follow one continuous train of thought, but we have of late been so accustomed to murder and bloodshed under the most appalling forms, we can write at the cannon's mouth with men weltering in their gore, hard by, as we do this morning.

The "signs of the times" betoken peace and quiet for our little

22. This letter was republished about 1887 in an unidentified paper. It may have been first published in *The Independent Democrat* of Concord in 1856.

city, at least for a time, after such perils, by day and by night, as we had been through, as had well-nigh worn us out, with incessant excitement, and watching—our men became lax in keeping their scouts on the lookout. Lane and his men had gone to Grass-hopper Creek—others had returned to Topeka, as our new government [Gov. John W. Geary] had been here and promised to stand by us, etc.

Yesterday morning, while the people were attending worship,²³ messengers came in telling us that the ruffian army, 3,000 strong,²⁴ was at Franklin, and soon the smoke of burning houses at Franklin told us their whereabouts. Our men set to work at once to prepare for defense, as best they could, immediately despatching a messenger to the Government and U. S. troops at Lecompton, twelve miles distant, and soon every favorable position was occupied, and though 100 of our Sharpe's rifles were out of town, and our men were short of ammunition, they were told to divide their cartridges with their neighbor till ALL WAS GONE, then take to their bayonets, and those who had none, to use their pitchforks, as they were liberally distributed from the stores where they were kept for sale. I tell you, Mr. Editor, our men fight like tigers, as the sequel proves, and has proved in all their battles, for their blood for weeks has been at the BOILING POINT. Soon Mt. Oread, was bristling with bayonets, and cannon peering through every port hole or along the summit in our new fort, that looms up high on Mt. Oread, a monument of the industry of our army during their leisure last week.

At this stage a dense volume of black smoke told us our steam, saw and grist mill, where we have been getting our unbolted flour to feed the hungry multitude, was on fire at Franklin,²⁵ and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon the advanced guard of the enemy, 100 strong, headed by Sheriff Jones, galloped boldly toward the town, followed by the main body with their bloody flag floating in the breeze. 'Twas a sight sublime to see our boys, only eighty strong, headed by the gallant Capt. Walker, gallop out to meet them, and then wheel and turn toward town, as though running from such overwhelming numbers, to decoy them as near as possible, and they in full chase, when our boys turned, spread out to cover as

23. Sunday, September 14.

24. This was the territorial militia composed chiefly of Border Ruffians that Acting Governor Woodson called into action when he declared the territory in a state of insurrection.—Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, pp. 144-151.

25. As the disbanded soldiers were returning home they burned the sawmill near Franklin, and on their march to Westport they stole and drove away the horses and cattle that came in their way.—*Ibid.*, p. 151.

much space as possible, and then poured a volley of balls into them—the Missourians returned the fire and then retreated into a ravine behind a cornfield to screen themselves as much as possible—our men then returned to town, and about twenty-five horsemen and fifty foot-men marched out on to a high rolling prairie, and drew themselves up in line of battle—a few shots were exchanged, when our men marched upon them, and they wheeled and fled like frightened sheep, when our men followed hard at their heels, firing as they went, killing three or four, and thus on and on they flew as in a race for life, some two miles toward Franklin till they reached their camp, when our men turned back toward town. Had they then known our weakness, as the troops had not arrived, we should now probably have been murdered, and our city laid in ashes! [George W.] Dietz[1]er, just escaped from prison, shot six times, and he says “he knows they must have taken effect.” Not a man of our company had his hair singed! Two of our boys about the same time shot two of their scouts in a hand-to-hand contest, as they had cocked their guns twice to shoot our boys—when the firing commenced, as our house stands a little out of town, in a direct line from Mt. Oread fort and the enemy, expecting our dwelling to be demolished by cannon balls, though built of stone, I caught my darling babe [Irving] (now a year old) from the bed, burning with fever, from which he has been suffering two weeks, moaning as he went, and though just recovering from the same fever myself and with hardly strength to walk, I rushed to a place of safety out of town as fast as my feeble limbs could carry me until I had walked about two miles; and as I passed from one house to another, in my flight ’twas almost amusing, notwithstanding the awful crisis before us to see the ruling passion strong in such an hour. Here was one arraying herself in a nice dress to secure it from destruction, another seizing a watch or some other valuable to carry with them, and sir, I did clutch hold of a bowie-knife I espied in one house, a lady friend wished me take, but as I was rapidly making my weary way, now through bushes and ravines, and up difficult steepes, I was afraid I would give my own person an unlucky thrust and was right glad to get rid of it. The scene that met our gaze beggars description—women and children fleeing on every hand to a place of safety—men running to secure the best place to fight—cattle as though aware danger was near, huddling together—smoke rolling up in clouds from Franklin, four miles distant—the “smoke and flash” of our well directed

rifles, all produced a daguerreotype that will never fade from memory's vision.

Tuesday [Monday], September 15.—Our government and troops arrived yesterday and hastened down to meet the enemy and turn them back as they hove in sight with their blood-red flag waving, bent on our destruction. They have contented themselves during the night in getting all the herds (from our free-state settlers), and horses they could find in that vast bottom, stretching between here and Franklin, and our cow we suppose among the rest, and what we shall all do in these deplorable times heaven only knows. Will not some of the friends of freedom help replace our lost homes, and cow, and these other losses by ruffian hands that have brought devastation and ruin to our homes? Last night two or three young ladies came running into town trying bitterly, daughters of our good brother Anderson, having run four miles from Franklin along a bypath through the timber, bareheaded, dragging along little children by the hand. Their house had been burned and their good, gray-haired mother in Israel shot at, and they feared their brother's wife, the mother of a little family, had been murdered. Think of this, my sisters in New Hampshire, pure-minded, intelligent ladies fleeing from fiends in human form whose brutal lust is infinitely more to be dreaded than death itself.

Last night, about sunset, about two hundred approached the town of Lawrence with three white flags waving ([Ex-Sen. David R.] Atchison was in this gang), they were permitted to come to the foot of Mt. Oread, when the U. S. troops met them and planted their cannon so as to blow them to atoms if they made any attempt to attack us, as they threatened to do, and this morning they left for Lecompton followed by the other portion of the army that stopped at Franklin for the night watched there by a detachment of troops. The government thinks it is policy to let them pass on to Lecompton unmolested. They had just left Lawrence this morning before the troops followed them and shot a Mr. Buffum, one of our men, for trying to rescue his horses they were stealing.²⁶ Oh, how our men ached to fight them this morning and last night as they just came from Franklin, where they had ruined so many of our people and turned homeless on to the prairies, but the government, for good

26. "A detachment, known as the Kickapoo Rangers, belonging in Atchison and vicinity, returned via Lecompton. On the march, within six miles of that place, a squad, leaving the main party for purposes of plunder, came upon a lame man, David C. Buffum, plowing in the field. They robbed him of his horse, and in answer to his protests, shot him in the abdomen, from which wound he died shortly afterward. With his horse and a pony, also stolen, they rejoined the main party and continued on their journey."—*Ibid.*

reasons, no doubt, would not permit it. He gives the free state men universal satisfaction, but we are told the ruffians tried to assassinate him at Franklin! It looks ominous to us, after coming upon us to destroy us, so large a force should be permitted to concentrate at Le-compton—for our own part, for the first time in all this commotion unless help speedily comes and our governor gets a stronger force, we have no doubt our doom is sealed! To-day is a trying time for our faith. My husband, by excitement and exposure, has brought on a relapse of bilious fever, from which he has just recovered—my babe is growing worse, his fever is raging dreadfully to-day, and we have but a few dollars left for any emergency. A few months ago prosperity smiled upon us, but war has fallen heavily upon us and now shall we be left single-handed and alone from all our friends to peril our all for freedom and our New England friends stand aloof? We have not received the first dollar from any source to help sustain our losses, and do not expect to, as all are in trouble here, unless our friends in the East help us a little, and hundreds are worse off than we having no house to shelter them. We have good “claims,” but who will buy a “claim” in this territory when war is determined to sweep us all out?

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

LAWRENCE, K. T.,
Monday, Sept. 22, 1856.

MR. EDITOR²⁷:—If we recollect rightly, our last thread for the Democrat was broken off abruptly, at the shooting of Mr. Buffum, who lingered a short time in excruciating agony, and expired, having received the whole contents of the ruffian's rifle into his bowels, for no *crime*, but endeavoring to secure his hard-earned property from being taken before his eyes by murderous thieves. The two brothers lived together and were trying to make them a home—the *other* a deaf and dumb mute. We know not what will become of *him* in these perilous times. Captain Thorn, of Maine, living near by, testifies he “had the last article of personal property he owned, taken by them, before the troops arrived,” and nothing has been restored to him, or the surviving Buffum. The troops endeavoring to arrest some of the murderous gang, a wretch, named [W. F.] Donaldson, who was with Titus, at the taking of his fort, with horrid oaths, *declared HE should not be arrested*, and fired at the troops, hitting one of them in the shoulder, when the other soldiers rode up,

27. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

and with their carbines laid him dead on the spot. Then some of the rest threw his mangled remains into their feed-box, at the back of one of their baggage wagons, carrying him along as though he had been a vile beast of prey! *O the demoralizing effects of war!*

Titus is not dead as we were informed, but has recovered from his wounds,²⁸ and with *murdered* Jones,²⁹ and drunken Davy Atchinson, was along with this army, breathing out destruction and death to those who treated him so kindly when a prisoner. These marauders are still committing their depredations in different parts of the Territory. Report says, "five houses were burnt last Friday, on 'Stranger Creek,' and also that five murders were committed; and among them *two women*, (we know not the truth of this) at Prairie City.—We saw a body of the U. S. troops, go in the direction of the latter place, yesterday. At the time of the murdering, and driving out of Leavenworth, three men were together, between here and Leavenworth, when they were fired upon by a ruffian, killing one instantly, shooting the *other* through the mouth, who made his escape, and in great pain, made his way to this place, which he reached in two or three days, with his face blackened and burnt by powder, and his teeth knocked out; the ball passing out at the other side of his face! The *third* man they supposed dead, as he threw himself on the ground, but he was only wounded in the shoulder, when they came up to him and one said, "he would make sure of HIM," and with the breech of his gun pounded him on the head, until he was senseless, and left him for dead. How long he lay in an unconscious state he does not know; but when he came to himself they were gone, and he crawled into the bushes, and managed to keep himself secreted, day after day, crawling a little way at a time, living on nuts and melons, not daring to speak to any one, lest he should be a foe, until in twelve days he reached Lawrence, fifteen miles! This case is enough to move a stout heart. His hair is all coming off his head, where it was mauled.

Another incident has moved my indignation as it will every son and daughter of freedom, in the narration. When our men subdued the little pro-slavery town of Dosocca, we are told they found two of our men, (one belonging to the New Haven colony, who had been taken prisoner,) chained like galley-slaves, and had actually been made slaves of—compelled to do the menial drudgery of these taskmasters! I confess, sir, I hold a near relationship to a race some-

28. Col. H. T. Titus was wounded in the head and shoulder at the capture of Fort Titus, August 16, 1856.—Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 142.

29. Sheriff Samuel J. Jones was shot, but not fatally wounded, by an unknown person on April 23, 1856, while near Lawrence attempting to arrest Free-State men.—*Ibid.*, p. 126.

what inclined to excitability; but if *this* did not set the blood to galloping through my veins with unwonted velocity, then I never inhaled the air of the Granite Hills, consecrated to freedom forever. . . . We never turned politician, until the wrongs of Kansas, heaped mountain-high, compelled us to it, and as much as we hate these gadders abroad—these women-lecturers who are continually at the old theme, “woman’s rights,” while the poor man at home is in a sad plight, and perchance the crown of his hat goes, “flip flap flip,” and his pants are all out at the knee, yet, did not the state of my sick and suffering family require my constant attention, I would love to go “home” and try to help bleeding Kansas, whose eyes are turned imploringly to the North, by telling my sisters in the East, from the White Mountains to Casco Bay, from the Canada-line on the North, to the remotest nook of the Granite State, on the South, to exert their individual and associate influence, over their husbands and brothers in favor of freedom and Fremont. We hardly think it advisable to use coercion in the matter, as did the good lady in the days when trap-doors were far more plenty than now-a-days, who planned an important errand into the cellar for her noble lord to execute, previous to his going to the ballot-box, then deliberately shutting it and seating herself thereon, utterly refused to permit him to make his egress, though he called lustily for permission to do so, until he had pledged his word to vote for some favorite candidate she had chosen!

There are ways without number, in which ladies in their own proper sphere, can assist in the coming election. Let little Misses and young ladies in their ornamental work for the parlor, have the names of “Fremont and Jessie” wrought in choicest colors; let the matrons in the dairy-room, make a mammoth “Fremont cheese,” to be eaten with a zest, at their annual State or County Fair. Let the name be labelled on every free man’s door-posts—any way, only keep it before the people till our object is gained, that the present ungodly Administration may never again curse the Nation, and let all the people say Amen. Let the name of Franklin Pierce be held up to a Nation’s scornful gaze, whom the basilisk eyes of the South have already lured to irretrievable ruin, on whom the keen penetrating eyes of Northern freemen have been fixed, during his unprecedented outrages on a scattered, peeled people; and let him understand a day of revenge is just at hand.

When we saw women and children fleeing from their own hearthstones, to escape the murderer’s knife, from our “heart of hearts” we

wished that heaven would raise up some God-fearing Judith, of apocryphal biography, if *none else* could be found, who would confront this Holofernes at the head of *our* enemies, and in *burning, scathing* words, tell him the "Avenger of blood" is on his track, and soon justice, human and divine, will be meted out to him. A time will come, we *doubt* not, when the manly school-boy, conning his "task" to repeat the list of "Presidents of the United States," will wish the name of Franklin Pierce expunged from among those illustrious worthies, *unworthy* to be found in such company.

And when he vacates the "White House" for a Nation's choice, "Fremont and Jessie," with all due deference to our "Chief Magistrate," we respectfully suggest that he purchase an estate in the "Dismal Swamp" where all life long, by a "firefly lamp," he may read the "wrongs of Kansas," traced in blood,—let his covert be those impenetrable fastnesses, where the glimmerings of the "North Star" never come—let his nightly concert be the baying of blood-hounds close on the track of some panting fugitive, and his funeral dirge be hissed by deadly reptiles, from their slimy bed, to quicken the speed of the passer-by, when they hear the *hated* name in those *lone wilds*.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

P. S.—The above is written from a sick bed; and let none of the friends of Julia Louisa Lovejoy attribute this to "malice aforethought," but the "shaking of the fever and ague," which perhaps will "shake" out a few more items, before it passes off.

Dec. 7th/56 LAWRENCE K. T.

DEAR UNCLE AND FAMILY ³⁰:—

Father received a letter from you last week. we were very glad to hear from you. I was surprised to hear that you had not rec'd any letters from us as I have written several times to you myself and I could not understand the reason why you did not answer them. Since the troubles have ceased our mail has been regular. I came down here last week it having been nearly six months since I had seen father and mother. Found them in much better health than they had been for some time. Irving is rather unwell now the rest of the family as well as usual. I have sold my clame on the Big Blue and rented Fathers. I intend living here this winter. Father wished me to say to you—if you would rent your farm and come out here it should not cost you anything after you got here. Mother says tell Colby that Father Hardy nor none of his children have as good

30. From 18-year-old Charles J. Lovejoy to Mrs. Lovejoy's brother, Colby Hardy.

a house or live any better than she does. There are as good chances now as ever for making claims. The Shawneese have been sectionized, and their lands the garden of Kansas are to be opened for pre-emption after the first day of Jan. 1857. I design taking one of them myself. Our crops were exilent this year. The weather is delightful, as warm as May. The Dr. [Whitehorn] and Ettie³¹ are living at Manhattan. I lieve for them tomorrow. If you have any desire like the rest of mankind to get a pleasant home cheap and a chance to make money, I advise you by all means to come to Kansas. Rent your farm. Get a good place for your family—and try the coming season with us. Give my love to all the family relations.— also to Mrs. Lucindy Palmer & husband and tell them—with all my heart I wish them much joy and a happy life. Business has returned with redoubled vigor to this country since the troubles have ceased. I designed to have made a trip to N. H. this fall but could not arrange my business so as to well leave. Father has gone to Franklin to attend his appointment. He says he shall write you a long letter soon.

Yours with respect,

CHARLIE J. LOVEJOY.

[On the last page of her son's letter Julia Lovejoy wrote:]

DEAR C[OLBY]. AND E[LIZA].: I should have answered your very acceptable letter the hour received but was obliged to have the house immediately for the plasterers to work on the house. We have passed thro perilous times but now if our babe was well and our little E[dith].³² did not lie in the COLD COLD grave, nothing of a temporal nature would make us sad, if our friends were well. When we write to father and mother we write to the entire family indiscriminately, we wish it so understood. O how I love you all and want to see you all, none can tell. Colby and Daniel³³ let out your farms if you can and come here in March and take a "claim," and with the blessing of God you may make your fortune! We have no object but your temporal good and the cause of freedom in thought. All who can come, will find it for their good. Months we have looked for letters, but in vain. All write immediately, and we will tell you what to do in coming here, if you come. I worry about father and mother daily. O must I never see them on earth? May I meet them in

31. Son-in-law and daughter, Juliette, of the Rev. Charles H. and Julia Lovejoy.

32. Edith Lovejoy, youngest daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. Charles H. Lovejoy, died near Lawrence on May 4, 1855, en route from Kansas City to Manhattan two months after the family left New England for Kansas. See *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 11, p. 37.

33. Daniel Hardy, a brother of Mrs. Lovejoy.

heaven! Love to all the family. Wilbur, Egbert, D. Scott ³⁴ and all come, and we will warrant you will be satisfied, if there is no more war! The babe has fussed in my lap all the time I have been writing.

Adieu: JULIA.

LAWRENCE K. T., Dec. 9th, 1856.

HONORED AND BELOVED PARENTS BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

We have waited in painful suspense for months to hear from you and finally concluded some of you were dead when Colby's letter gladdenened our hearts then another last night from a well-known trembling hand that makes the eyes of all moist when we read them! These letters are laid away sacredly to be kept in the family as a choice memento of that dear father whom I always loved notwithstanding my waywardness almost as my own soul. O how deeply we feel for Caroline's and Matilda's ³⁵ family! We pray to God to spare the blow that shall write those "little ones" motherless! We cannot answer all the questions you ask, father, in this short letter, for Irving is sick and has been ever since we moved here in Aug. Mr. L. and I have been sick, the most of the time with "fever and ague" but all are pretty well, but the babe and I think he will be running about soon. Went alone when he was nine months old. Charles left for Manhattan this morning with a Mr. Smith of Indiana, who has taken our farm for the coming year. We stock it, find all to carry it on with and have one third of the profit. Glad to do so, to have him hold it for us, to keep it from being jumped, as Charles is a minor. He had to sell his claim, for a tithe of its value, after he had got a new house built, about 20 acres of corn fenced in, to prevent having it jumped! I wish he was of age, so he could hold a claim. He went with a Co. to survey a road from Iowa to Manhattan, hired a man at great price, to watch our crops, but herds of cattle broke in, and out of 500 bushels of corn there is not more than 50 left! Our stolen horse and lost cow and Mr. L's pocket-book, and money are still among the missing, and always will be tho his notes, and nearly \$1,000 worth of papers were brought back and carefully wrapped up and laid beside the house! "Honor among thieves!" Our losses are 6 or 7 hundred and would have upset us in the East for awhile but we never felt in better spirits with regard to temporalities. Charles sold our farm horses to be taken to Illinois, a span of matched beauties,

34. Wilbur Heath, Egbert Heath and D. Scott were Mrs. Lovejoy's nephews.

35. Caroline and Matilda were Mrs. Lovejoy's sisters.

with the harness, for \$365. Two hundred and fifty of this, he paid yesterday to a pro-slavery man here for 8-city lots in Lawrence. The slaveocrats know they must leave and are selling their claims and city stock for half their value. One lot, no better than Charles' was sold for eight hundred dollars. Now is the time to get improved claims, of these fellows, for a little sum, and many at the South of us, have left their corn in the field, houses and all for fear, and any one who is disposed, can take possession. Kansas will be saved, we believe, notwithstanding our defeat in the states. Wealthy men and emigrants are pouring in weekly. Who of you will come, and by helping freedom, help yourselves? Now is the time! Let us know immediately. Our house is of stone, after the same model as the Ferrisburg (Vt.) parsonage, tho larger, the entire finish of black walnut, very nice, costing about \$800. I tell you all tho we have felt the horrors of war, if we were not in Kansas already, we would come as soon as steam could bring us. Dear Edith's death is the only drawback. Come on all who can. You need now have no fears on the River. Wilbur and E[gbert]. would make their fortunes, with God's blessing. I want to fill a sheet but must stop. Wish Dr. W[hitehorn]. could see C[aroline]. & M[atilda]. tell us their symptoms, that he may prescribe. He is a great Dr. in truth. Ette is very fortunate, well and happy.

JULIA L. L.

[Part Two Will Appear in the August, 1947, Issue]

Differences in Wichita Indian Camp Sites as Revealed by Stone Artifacts

ARCH O'BRYANT

A DISCUSSION of Wichita Indian artifacts is not so difficult a procedure as commonly supposed. There are plenty of examples. The writer estimates that he has viewed at least 100,000 artifacts gathered from the former camp sites of these people. Some magnificent collections are owned in Kansas, a number by farmers residing on the sites. Some fields are still strewn with tens of thousands of pieces and chips from artifacts that no collector has troubled to pick up. These broken pieces tell the story of the artifact almost as truly as if they were whole. No effort will be made in this paper to discuss the origin of the Wichita Indians, the limits of their habitation, their customs, history or fate. These subjects have been covered in many writings, but it is well to state that archaeologists still hold Kansas as virtually unexplored from the standpoint of camp site examination.

While the writer has visited many sites in south central Kansas in the past 25 years, this discussion will confine itself chiefly to the prehistoric and protohistoric sites of Rice, Pratt and Marion counties along with those sites known as the Zyba site in Sumner county, the Cowley county sites north of Arkansas City and the Paint creek site in McPherson county. Some mention will be made of questionable sites—the Harper county sites—dangerous to discuss because it is not certain they belong to the Wichita Indians. In general reference to Wichita Indian sites, the Harper county sites are excluded.

All Wichita Indian artifacts have many things in common. Typical is the triangular arrowhead, known variously as the war point, the poison point and, erroneously by a few, as the bird point. These points are almost paper thin in rarer specimens. In practically all instances they are thinner than the small points of any other tribe. The Wichita Indian point ranges from less than half an inch to two inches in length. A few rare specimens are three inches long. Usually both surfaces of the point are worked but it is not unusual to find a point with one or both surfaces flat with only the edges worked. The triangular point is so typical of the Wichita Indian

ARCH O'BRYANT, a native of Marion, is city editor of the *Wichita Evening Eagle*.

that the conventional arrowhead of other tribes with tangs, notched base and greater size is almost unknown. The ordinary Indian arrowhead, in fact, is so rare on Wichita sites that those found are usually associated with trade or capture so far as students of Wichita Indians are concerned. On rare instances, however, such an arrowhead, like those found for example on an Osage Indian site, seems to suggest Wichita Indian manufacture. One or more sides may be flat, the material may tally with other material on the ground and the chipping may be similar to Wichita Indian chipping. It may be fair to assume, then, that occasionally a big arrowhead was turned out.

Another typical artifact of the Wichita tribe is the tiny plan-convex scraper, an artifact that is finished beautifully. The bottom side of such scrapers is flat and usually smooth as glass. It appears that the Indian manufacturer split his stone so as to get the flat surface, placed this surface upon some flat smooth object and rounded off the top by chipping. Such scrapers are almond shaped in most instances, are rounded at one end and pointed at the other. There are variations. Most of these scrapers are one to two inches long. Some perfectly made scrapers but one-half inch long are found and one has been located that is more than six inches in length.

The third typical artifact of the Wichita Indian sites is the lance. The lance is practically always beveled with flat surfaces. Usually the lance expands symmetrically from point to base. The base may be similar to that of the conventional spear but usually the lance terminates in either a rounded base, often too large in proportion to the width of the blade, or the base may be pointed. Notches in such lances are usually small with shallow indentation.

Knives usually are beveled and some specimens boast a drill appendage on one end. Relic hunters frequently refer to the Quiviran knife. It is true that the four-sided knife appears on Wichita Indian sites but it is associated with this question: Is it the true four-sided knife found along the western ramparts of the Flint hills in Butler, Chase and Marion counties? The diamond-shaped, four-sided knives of Butler county often are well-made affairs of imported stone, typical specimens being about three inches long, an inch in width and one-fourth inch thick. It is the writer's opinion that more research is necessary before these Butler county knives can be definitely associated with the Wichita Indians. To the trained eye, there seems to be a difference between a four-sided Wichita Indian knife and those of Butler county. The Butler

county specimen is so constructed that some collectors refer to it as a drill.

Another typical artifact of the Wichita Indian is the maul. Some of these mauls are among the best found in the nation. In Moorehead's book on stone implements, now selling for as much as \$35, some of these mauls are pictured prominently.¹ They are as symmetrical as the modern sledge-hammer head. Ends often are perfectly flat and a few specimens form perfect cylinders while others feature a slight tapering toward the ends. They are all well grooved. The Wichita Indian usually imported stone for his finer mauls. It appears to be a sandstone, hard but not so hard as one might expect for a battering implement and this material comes in either red or blue. Some geologists say the material was carried south by glaciers and never is found south of Nebraska. Mauls of a crude type of hematite are found and the river pebble furnished material for everyday mauls.

Most Wichita Indian artifacts are standardized. Only in drills did the craftsman allow his imagination to run rife. He made about every type of drill that can be found at any spot where the American Indian camped. But even in drills the flat-sided art sometimes crops out. One side of the delicate point may be flat or the base may feature one flat surface, a surface made when the original blow fractured the stone.

In view of such standardization, it might be asked how the artifacts from one Wichita Indian site differed from another. Except in material used, it may be said that not too much variation did appear.

Wichita Indians of Rice and Pratt counties used the most colorful materials.² Both of these peoples liked a colorful stone described by collectors as agate. This material runs heavily to purples, reds, rich browns or creams shot through with colors. Some relics bear three or more colors.

Pratt county sites give up many brown artifacts due to the availability of brown chert, this chert also being a standby on Rice county sites. The chert often is so light in color that it may be described as yellow rather than brown.

Marion county sites give up many artifacts of blue, blue chert

1. Moorehead, Warren K., *Prehistoric Implements* (1900), pp. 65, 66.

2. EDITOR'S NOTE: In a letter which accompanied this article, Mr. O'Bryant reports he once discussed his theories with Dr. Waldo R. Wedel, a former Kansan now an archaeologist with the United States National Museum. "Wedel," O'Bryant says, is "a very cautious man, [and] did not wholeheartedly admit the Indians of Rice, Marion and Cowley counties were Wichitas."

from the Flint hills being at hand. Some may prefer to call this chert grey instead of blue. The Marion county sites also feature white and pink, and more rarely the striped pinkish Hardy flint or chert. This latter material is said to come from the prehistoric quarries near Hardy, Okla. The "agates" of Pratt and Rice counties are rare in Marion county. The brown and yellow chert artifacts of Rice county are found in Marion county but less frequently than on the western sites. When a Marion county Wichita Indian wanted a colorful scraper he found a river pebble of bright hues. He used far more pink stone than any of his neighbors. This pink stone is also found along the Missouri river on Doniphan county sites. Some think the material originated in Arkansas. The white chert, often greasy to the touch, is said to be a Missouri product. Large nodules of this material still can be found on the sites of Marion county.

The sites near Arkansas City and Zyba run heavily to the so-called Hardy chert of pinkish hue but also produce plenty of blues and whites. Here again the so-called agate, sugar quartz and brown chert of Pratt and Rice counties are less frequently found.

If a box of Pratt or Rice county scrapers is lined up beside a box filled with Marion or Cowley county scrapers, the brilliance of the western artifacts will stand out over those of the eastern counties like a sore thumb. One puzzles over the source of the agate of Rice and Pratt counties. Fairly large chunks of the raw material are found on the sites.

Although obsidian is found on all sites, obsidian artifacts are rare. One farmer near Pratt estimates that his field gives up one obsidian point to 50 of other material. The writer is of the opinion that only one out of more than 200 points found in Rice county will be obsidian. Small chunks of unworked obsidian are not rare in Rice and Pratt county, however. All these chunks were carried to the sites by the Indians, as obsidian does not occur in the natural state there. Even the Zyba site on the Ninnescah river still gives up obsidian although this site probably has been picked more heavily than any other in Kansas. Collectors have a habit of picking up obsidian bits whether or not any evidence of chipping is present.

Obsidian is very rare in Marion county. Once the writer picked up a number of polished pebbles that obviously had been polished through long usage in a rattle or medicine bag. Months later he held one of the darker of these stones to the light only to discover the material was obsidian, a material very difficult to polish smooth.

Did the Wichita Indian have the art of polishing obsidian, an art some say was exclusive to the Maya or Inca? Or did years in a rattle place the polish on the obsidian? Only one or two other specimens of obsidian, to this writer's knowledge, have been found in Marion county. Obsidian is not plentiful in Cowley or Butler counties.

Presumably the source of obsidian was the Rocky mountains. The supply probably was obtained through trade. Pratt and Rice counties, it may be assumed, give up the most obsidian because the tribes living there were first to contact the traders to the west. It is possible that the Wichitas did the trading miles to the west of their homes and in turn traded small quantities of precious obsidian to their brothers to the east in Marion and Butler counties. Or again, Marion county sites may have been abandoned before the Wichitas did much trading for obsidian. There is little evidence that Marion county Indians settled the Rice county sites. It is interesting to theorize upon this possibility but nobody knows for certain. Again, did the Wichita Indian enter Kansas at present Arkansas City, one faction moving north along the Walnut river to settle at present Augusta and later in Marion county, while the other faction followed the Arkansas, a group taking the route west to Pratt when the Ninnescah was reached and another taking the Little Arkansas to Rice and McPherson counties? Investigation may trace the route of these people.

Pueblo pottery is found on all camp sites with the possible exception of those near Marion and Augusta. Some collectors say they have found Pueblo pottery on all sites. Certainly, more Pueblo sherds are found in Rice and Pratt counties and at the Zyba site than on other sites. The Arkansas City sites yield specimens but not too frequently.

All sites give up plenty of catlinite, a material from Pipestone, Minn. Turquoise has been located in Pratt and Rice counties. Here again is found support for the theory that the western people enjoyed the bulk of the trade with the peoples from the mountains. These people with turquoise to trade probably were Pueblos.

More blue chert tomahawks, cultivating implements, hammerstones and knives are picked up in Marion, Butler and Cowley counties than to the west. This is only natural, as the source of material is on the ground. Vast supplies of blue chert were lugged to Marion county camp sites probably for future use. As a result Marion county sites are littered with blue chert, some of it totally unworked.

Many collections from Rice county hold few blue chert implements of size although blue scrapers and points are plentiful enough. Blue chert is to the eastern sites what brown chert is to the west.

More ornamental potsherds are found in Rice county than to the east. This may be due to Pueblo influence, probably not.

As to workmanship, Pratt and Rice counties did not have better stone chippers than Marion or Cowley counties. Pratt and Rice county chippers, however, were more likely to place side notches on their points than the arrow makers in Marion county. Probably not more than one among 50 triangular points in Marion county bear side notches. Side-notched points may run as high as one in ten in Rice county. Side-notched points are frequently found at Zyba and Arkansas City but probably not in so great a percentage as in Rice county. There are fewer side-notchers found on Paint creek, in this writer's opinion, than just to the west in Rice county. A notch in the base is rare but not unknown. Such base-notched points are always notched on the sides. Zyba has given up points with two notches on each side and a base notch for a total of five on one point. One point from the sand hills at Maize bears seven notches but may be regarded as a freak. A Zyba point has been found bearing but one notch, low down on one side toward the tip of the point.

While serrated points are found they are not found frequently enough for a comparison to be drawn; all sites produce specimens.

Once in Marion county, and again in Rice county, the writer found points with side notches no more than one-eighth of an inch from the tip. Such points are found in Arizona ruins but are rare on Wichita Indian sites. The workmanship and material suggests Kansas origin. Does the trail of the Wichitans reach into the Southwest? The most commonly accepted theory is that the Wichitas split from the Caddo people of East Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana.

Limestone manos are found in Marion county. A sandstone that on first glance appears to be limestone also was used. To the west, sandstone manos were used almost exclusively. Some red sandstone manos have been found in Cowley county, but limestone, vast quantities being on the spot, was used in most cases.

All sites yield about the same type of shaft polishers, knives, drills, metates, bone implements, lances, pipes and mauls.

From the foregoing, it may be seen that trade and availability of material led to the chief differences to be found in the artifacts of the various Wichita sites in Kansas. The western part of the area is more likely to produce notched points than the eastern.

The writer knows of no European articles ever being found on a Marion county site. Writers refer to such objects appearing in excavations in Rice county.

With the exception of pipestone (catlinite) little stone polishing took place. While the chipped chert, flint or hematite tomahawk is found, the polished ax is so rare that many collectors have never found evidence of one. The boatstone, bannerstone, plummet, birdstone and polished celt of the East are lacking.

Bits of buffalo-shoulder bone spades are found on all sites. While some chert blades have been found in Marion county which might pass as spades, it is more likely that they were used as knives or cultivating tools. The flint spade of the moundbuilders is not present. There is a decided scarcity of beads.

The most puzzling site of definite Wichita culture is to be found near Maize. Here shifting sandhills give up artifacts. The hills are shot through with buffalo bone and bits of flint, specimens often being buried to the depth of 20 feet. Apparently the Indians camped directly on these hills. The old bed of the Arkansas, now known as the Big Slough, is adjacent. Why sandhills with poor footing should be chosen for a camp site cannot be determined. Usually the Wichitas liked to make camp on firm ground.

The city of Wichita lies over a prehistoric Wichita Indian site. Owing to the inroads of modern civilization no study of artifacts from this site can be made. One guesses the artifacts would compare with those at Zyba, 20 miles to the south, or Maize, 14 miles to the northwest. Material and workmanship from Maize and Zyba are similar.

The writer would like to call attention to the Harper county sites where there is much evidence pointing to Wichita Indian occupation and about as much evidence pointing the other way. Triangular points are found that might well be of Wichita Indian make. But the sites give up a remarkable number of five-notched points, two notches on each side and one in the base. Now and then a regulation-sized arrowhead is found of a type far different from any found on a Wichita site. Although this writer has viewed thousands of artifacts from the sites, he has never seen a lance or spear. No fragments of spears are found. The four-sided knife is common. One collector picked up five of these knives in one day. They differ from the Butler county type, being more like those from western Kansas sites. Effigy pottery is found. A perfect effigy of a turtle was uncovered. Certainly this turtle was not the work of a Wichita In-

dian. It points to Arkansas. Bones, highly decorated by carving, are dug from the sites. Many scrapers are of the same type as those found on Wichita Indian sites but they are usually inferior in workmanship. Manos are different. Pottery pipes, similar in design to those found in the East and South, are dug up. Collectors living in the vicinity of these sites point to Osage occupancy. Then why the lack of spears? It is a question for time and the trained archaeologist to decide.

A Hoosier in Kansas
The Diary of Hiram H. Young, 1886-1895
Pioneer of Cloud County
PART FIVE, 1894-1895—CONCLUDED

Edited by POWELL MOORE

JANUARY, 1894

1 Monday. Good day. John & Harry Thompson started for Kansas city Mo. to attend veterinary college. F. A. Thompson Mrs Thompson Jennie Thompson, Harry Thompson & school Father of Dis. No 56 Called this morning. Beautiful Day for the time of year. School commenced again this Morning, in Our Dis. no. 76. Answered labor commissioner letter.

2 Tuesday. Pretty Decent day went to town after Dinner. Broke Swingle tree for Buggy, cost 55¢. Received notice that my Pension claim was rejected. Tally one for Reble Hoax Smith. The time will come [when] the Rebels will not control this government.

3 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold in the morning. Threatened storm. But Broke away after noon & evening and night very Pleasant. Mother and I went to Aurora to Knights of Pythias installation and supper. Good turn out and *Good* Supper. After installation and supper, Dancing and High (5) were in order. Took 1 chance in a big cake but lost. Home 2 A. M feeling good.

4 Thursday Bright and clear George went to Mill. 6 Bushels of Wheat.

5 Friday. Cloudy & cold high wind North east. George visited at the center afternoon. H & George Snavelly called & I sold them a load of straw for \$1.00 Al Norton Called & I sold him 2 Stee[r]s for \$30.00 He to take them Monday or Tuesday.

6 Saturday. Clear & cold 2 Degrees belo[w] zero. went to town after noon. John Swanson Paid me \$15.40 on note. Balance Due \$5.40.

7 Sunday Pretty fair Jim Bertram called. George went to town after Dinner a foot.

8 Monday. Clear & cold. Elder Dr Rev Bushong called to day also Dan. Empson & Lady.

DR. POWELL MOORE, of 444 Highland, Hammond, Ind., is assistant professor of history at the Calumet Center of the Indiana University Extension Division. His wife, a daughter of George A. Young, is a granddaughter of Hiram Young, the diarist.

9 Tuesday. Clear & cold. Down to zero Dan. & Mrs Empson, Hen. & Mrs Snavelly and A. D. Goble Called. Went to Alliance meeting in the evening. Hom[e] 10:15 P. M. Freddie Staid at home to day too cold to go to school

10 Wednesday. Clear & cool. Hauled 1 load of corn for Jack Matthews to Aurora. 48.52 lbs. Sent Dr. John O Young cash \$20.00 Home at dark.

11 Thursday Bully Day. Fine day Hauled 1 load of corn to Aurora for Colonel J. T. Henderson. Big Jo. Bertrams Daughter Buried to day. Lady Ward Called and Bought No 178 in cemetry Ou[r] School Mother Called this evening and Staid all night. Mother Mable and Miss Tiff Called on Dan. Empson this eve.

12 Friday. Good day. went to Rice in forenoon. Mother was at Dan Empson until 3 P. M. went to town Started 3 P. M. Failed to find George Staid in town with Dr McCasey. Attended chapter.

13 Saturday. County Alliance. was Re elected Co. President. Home a little after dark. Sold 2 Steers for \$30.00 Friday. Charley came out home with me, also Frankie McCasey. Good county meeting to day.

14 Sunday. Good day. George went to town Ida Kellenbarg[e] went home. Charley is here to day.

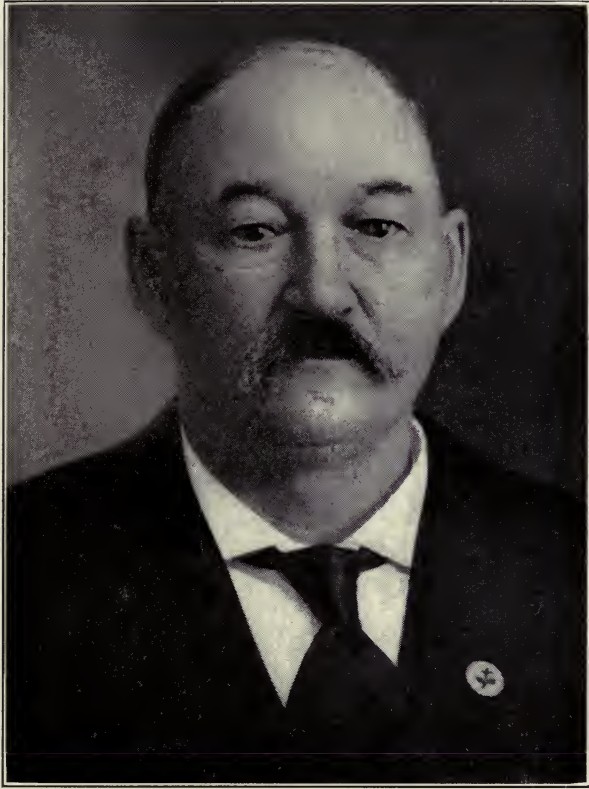
15 Monday. fine day. warm and Pleasant. Charley went to town. I went to Rice this forenoon & to Jack Matthews in the evening. Jacks Kid is sick also Lady Empson.

16 Tuesday. Good day went to town. Paid Joe. Henley \$1.00 for my subscription to the Voice for 1894 Paid Blade Cash \$2.00 for Blade for 1894 for myself at Rice and V. A. Stewart Wolf Lake Indiana. Paid Alliant Cash \$1.00 for Alliant for 1894. Home 4:30 P. M. Gottlieb Husch[er] rode home with me.

17 Wednesday. cloudy & cold. Wash day. Jack Matthews Called this morning early.

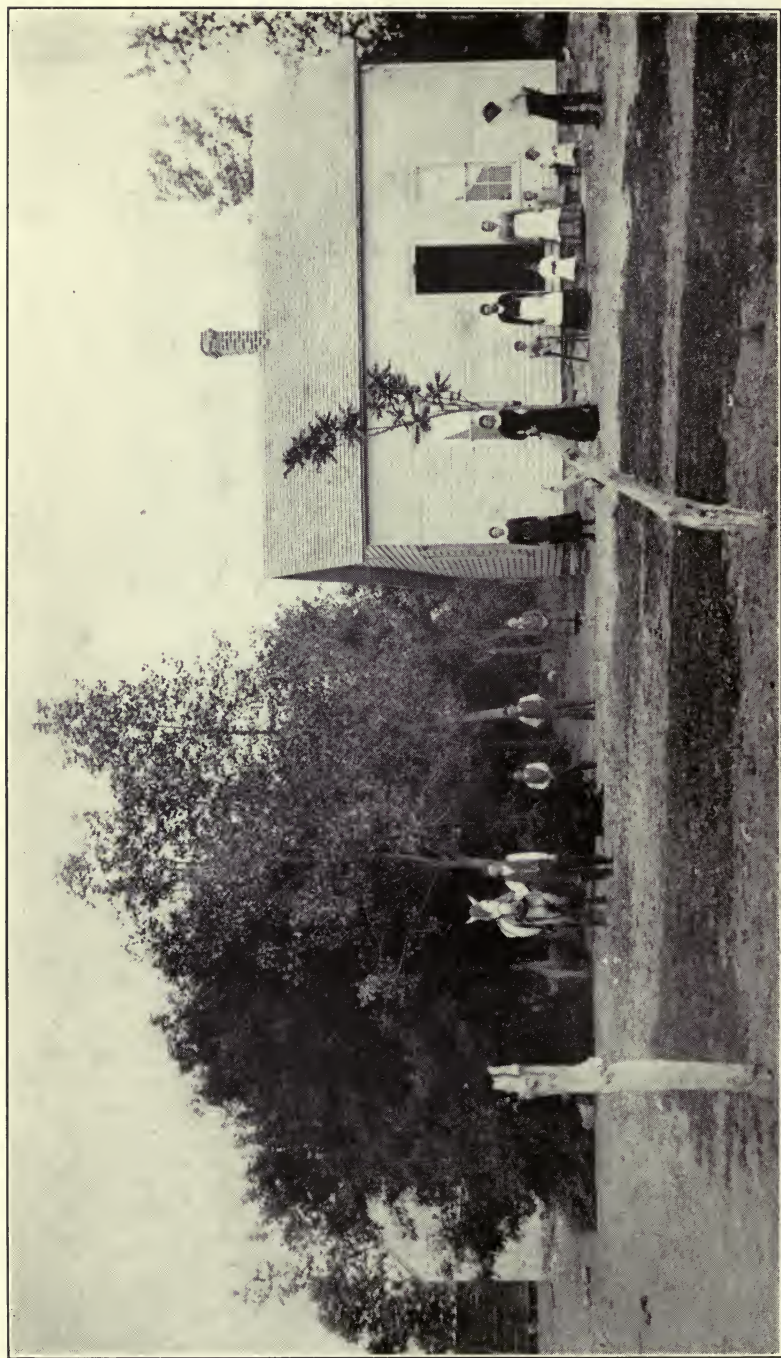
18 Thursday. Fine day. went to Rice. John Campbell Called to Buy some Horses. Dr McDonald Called to see Charley. I went to Jakes this morning. Loaned Grand Pap our cart. Fred Ward Called to day.

19 Friday. Cloudy & Disagreeable. Ground covered with Snow this morning. Commenced to mist about noon and continued until dark. Went to town after noon for George. Home a little before Dark, very Disagreeable. Dark. George & Mabel went to Entertainment at the School house.



HIRAM H. YOUNG, 1842-1919

An early resident of Cloud county whose diary is concluded in this issue.



MEMBERS OF THE HIRAM YOUNG FAMILY AND FRIENDS FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF ABOUT 1883

Left to right: Charles (born 1868), with Dick, the horse; George (1875); John (1872); Mattie Matthews; Alba (1871); Nellie (1866); Mabel (1882); Mrs. Hiram (1845), and five of the Frank Allen family. Mr. Allen was a brother of Mrs. Young. The house was built in 1881.

20 Saturday. Pretty good day. Lady Matthews Called this morning George went to Aurora this morning Jim Shafer Called this evening. Mother & I went to Jack Matthews this evening.

21 Sunday. High wind north. F. A. Thompson & wife visited us to day. Jack Matthews Called and Borrowed our cart, and cough medicine for Charley.

22 Monday. Clear & cold high wind north. George went to town this morning. Came home in the evening.

23 Tuesday. Stormy Snowed a little last night. Blowing and Most Disagreeable. Genuine B[1]izzard 2 P. M. 4 Degrees below Zero, and still freezing. Old Man Goble watered his horses and went to Rice for coal. The worst day this winter. 6 P. M. 8 Degrees below zero. Fearful Stormy mean bad day. Grand Mother Pierce is very Sick. Heartfailure. George at home Did not go to town this Morning.

24 Wednesday. Clear & cold. 16 Degrees below zero. The coldest this Winter. Jim Shafer called to day. George went to town this Morning. Truman Pierce came last night, His mother being very sick, but little hopes of her recovery. wind turned to East & South east toward evening. 8:30 P M 2 Degrees above zero.

25 Thursday. Cloudy & cold wind South east. went to Rice after noon for coal 1500 lbs \$3.50 one lb. Tobacco .45 = \$3.95 The old Man under the weather. Grand Pap Groves Called.

26 Friday. Clear & cold 8 Degrees above zero. Dan. Empson Called Went to town after noon. Wash Day. George came home with team staid all night with Dr McCasey. Attended chapter. Confered the Past Maste[r]s Degree on H. W. Barber. Bought a hatchet .50, 2 cigars & Tobacco 10¢ Total 70¢.

27 Saturday. George came to town after me. Home 1:30 P. M Renewed my Policy in the Knight[s] of Columbia. Paid Dr Raines for examination 50¢, 70¢ & 50 = \$1.20

28 Sunday. Cloudy & cold. High wind north west. George went to Rice and from there to town. Gave him \$10.00 Dollars School Money to buy him self Shoes & pay on his board.

29 Monday. Good day. Mother & I went to George Lamans, town Board Meeting. Truman Pierce Called also Jack Matthews.

30 Tuesday. cloudy & cold. High wind north. Mother & I went to town, with Dick, Alex Flora & Mell⁵⁰ Was offered \$40.00 for Flora \$27.50 for Alex. A damed Shame Truman and Manley

50. Dick, Alex, Flora and Mell were horses.

Pierce called to look at our farm. Grand Pap Groves Called, and borrowed our cart. We had Dinner with Dr McCasey. Home at dark. Feodore Loeffler Called to day.

31 Wednesday. Clear & cold High wind north. Grand Pap Groves Called. Also Fedore Loeffler and Paid \$60.00 on his note. Balance Due \$53.00 There is a credit now on his note of \$90.00 The old man on the lift.

February, 1894

1 Clear & Pleasant. Wash day. Charley went to Rice after noon. The old Man indisposed. Lady Empson Called. Paid her Cash \$2.28 for 51 lbs beef at $4\frac{1}{2}\phi$ in full for all demands

2 Friday Good day. Went to town after noon. Deposited \$130.00 in Cloud co Bank. George Came home with me attended Alliance at the center in the evening. Was elected Pres. for the 3rd time. Home 10:20 P. M.

3 Saturday. Cloudy & cold. Went to town with Goble. High wind N Bough[t] over coat and Hat \$13.00 Home 5 P. M. Sawdy and wife here. Staid all night.

4 Sunday George took Sawdy & wife to Mat Wilcox. Jake Matthe[w]s & wife Called, also Dr. McCasey & family and old Man Groves. Pretty fair day.

5 Monday. Pretty cold Started for Topeka. Walked over to Soonover. Went to Concordia from there To Topeka Rail road fair from Soonover to Topeka and return \$5.25 Arrived in Topeka 3:15 P. M.

6 Tuesday. Attended national alliance met many Southern representative men.

7 Wednesday Went to Asylum and vis[i]ted Dr. [J. H.] McCasey⁵¹ and staid all night at the asylum. Poor place to stay. Succeeded in getting places for Charley and Bently and Jennie Ward.

8 Thursday Still in Topeka

9 Friday. Genuine B[l]izzard Started home. train 1:15 late Arrived in Concordia 7:15 P. M. Staid all night with Dr McCasey.

10 Saturday. Cold & cloudy. Home at noon. All well but Charley & Lottie Shook up by a runaway, and buggy Smashed.

11 Sunday. Blizzard 6 Degrees above zero. The following callers yester day Goble, Dan Empson Grand Pap Groves, Mr.

51. Dr. J. H. McCasey was superintendent of the state hospital for the insane, Topeka, in 1894 and 1895.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 689. He previously had been a practicing physician and surgeon at Concordia.—*Concordia Blade*, January 26, 1894.

Lewis & Fulferd. This is a fearful bad day. Stormed all day. High wind north. Fearful Storm. Snowed all day. Drifted badly.

12 Monday. Clear & cold Zero this morning. I took George to Rice this after noon.

13 Tuesday. Clear & cold. Just zero, this morning. Pleasant Mrs & Dan Empson called. Ike Reeves brought our mail

14 Wednesday Pretty good day. Dan Empson brought our mail

15 Thursday. Clear & cold 2 Degrees below zero. Henderson & Jo LeClare Called also a peddler. Mother visited at Jack Matthews.

16 Friday Clear & cold high wind South. Gottlieb Huscher Called this morning to buy our farm but could not agree on the price. Wash day. The Old Man on the lift.

17 Saturday Warm & pleasant George & I went to Rice this morning for coal of [for] School house. Roads bad Could only bring 1500 [pounds] George Went back after dinner for the balance 500 lbs. Snow about all gone. Roads fearful. Dan Empson called this morning Warm & Pleasant, clear & bright.

18 Sunday. Warm & Pleasant Snow about all gone. Grand Pap Groves Called to day.

19 Monday. Pretty Decent day

20 Tuesday. Fearful cold. Stormed Snowed & Blowed. Went to town from Soonover. Bad day. Co. Alliance. Slim crowd. Professor Gain[e]s⁵² spoke in eve. Staid all night with Dr. McCasey. Saw O W Hendee.

21 Wednesday. Came home on train to Soonover. Charley went to Rice after noon. I went to Jakes after dinner.

22 Thursday Washingtons Birth Day. 162 years old to day May God continue to bless him. High wind north and cold. Killed 2 Hogs. Dan Empson and wife helped us. Charley Started for Topeka. Dan & wife here this eve to help us make Sausage.

23 Friday cloudy & cold. went to Rice. Expected O. W. Hendee but he failed to put in. Bought coal \$3.05 coffee 55¢ Total \$3.60 Jack Matthews called Also Hen. Snavelly and sold him 5 Bus wheat = 2.00 Ladies Bell & Empson called. George came home this eve.

24 Saturday. Pretty good day. George went to Rice for our mail. Mother went to old man Pierce's. George and I went to Alliance meeting at the center.

⁵². Henry N. Gaines was state superintendent of public instruction.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 662.

25 Sunday. Good day. Jack L Matthews Called early. Dr. McCasey & family visited us to day. George went to town this after noon.

26 Monday. Good day. Wash day. Mother & Lottie Called on Martha & Jack [in] after noon. Goble called in fore noon.

27 Tuesday. Pleasant Went to town. Sold 6 Hogs weight 1350 [@] $4\frac{1}{4}$ Total \$57.37 Gifford paid me \$60.75 Returned to him \$3.30 = \$57.45 Henderson helped me *load* Paid M. V. B. Sheafor Cash \$3.00 for lodge Dues for 1894 Gave Mother \$20.00 Paid Mrs. McCasey Cash \$5.00 on Georges board. Home in good season. Mother, Freddie & I called on Bolens in the eve. Jack Matthews moved on to his own farm. Bolen took his place on the Slutman farm.

28 Wednesday. Cloudy & muggy. Mother & Lottie went to town Kids at school. A D Goble called Also Hon. Snaveley Sold him a load of Straw, cash \$1.00 Lady Bales Co. Superintendent Called and staid all night

March, 1894

1 Thursday. Good day. We all went to Goble to an Alliance oyster Supper.

2 Friday Good day. went to Aurora. Paid my Dues to Knights of Pythias Lodge \$1.25 Bought lumber. Owe Fred Martin \$1.05 George came home this evening. Sent John \$15.00

3 Saturday. High wind South. Shelled 400 bushels of corn. By Davis & Cross Paid Jim Shafer cash 75¢.

4 Sunday. High wind South. Cloudy Rained a little. Thundered. Stormy. George went to Bolens this mo[r]ning Paid him his check \$35.00 Lady Empson called. She was afraid of the coming Storm. George went to town a foot this after noon.

5 Monday. Cloudy Disagreeable Rained & Misted & froze Bad day wind North. Went to town. Took Cultivator shovels and Buggy Wheel. Infernal Shame that it was broken. Bought young Calf from Decker. Paid him \$2.50 [?] for it. Brought Stalk cutter from Stillingers. Hauled 2 loads of Straw.

6 Tuesday. Cloudy & cool Went to Rice in forenoon. Commenced to cut stalks after noon. Cut 3 acres J. T. Henderson called in the evening for instruction about assessing

7 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold & Disagreeable. Cut stalks, $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Old man Newingham called. & Loaned him my wagon.

8 Thursday. Clear & cold in the morning. Wash day. Cut 6 acres of stalks. Newingham returned my wagon. Price Bros. &

Morgan Called in the evening. Sold them Dick for \$55.00 Too infernal cheap.

9 Friday. Good Day. Cut stalks. Sold Flora for \$50.00 Too cheap. Hen & George Snavelly Called and I traked [traded?] Jumbo for Hen Snavelly's 3 year old Gray Mare. It looks like giving Something for nothing. The man that bought Dick Called and paid for him & took him away. Loaned him bridle circingle and Rope. Loaned Snavelly collar & rope. Lady Bolen Called. Also horsemen from Concordia Gave Mother \$50.00

10 Saturday. Fearful wind & Dust from west & North west Awful wind & Dust. John came home this morning. George cut stalks in forenoon. John went to Rice for our mail. George & I attended Alliance in evening. Home 11:15 P.M

11 Sunday. Decent Day. Boys Drove Eli this morning for the 1st time went to Rice for our Mail. Mother & I went to Kellenbargers.

12 Monday. High wind west & North west. Harrowed. John George & Lottie went to town and to Mill 6 Bushels. Did not get Buggie wheel. Warm. F. A. Thompson Mrs. & Jennie Thompson called in the eve.

13 Good day. J. T. Henderson Called this morning. John went to Bertrams also Fred Koester's. John & I went to town after noon. Drove Eli Paid for sharpening cultivator shovels 2.80 Halters & Rope 2.00 Axel grease 35¢ 1 Bottle Beer 25¢ Total \$5.40 Burned part of South Road in the evening Onion set 60¢ = \$6.00 Brought Huschers Drill home with us.

14 Wednesday. Good day. John Drilled in Oats. I went to Aurora in evening. Attended Knights of Pythias lodge. Benoni Ledoux took second Rank of Esquare [Esquire?]. Home 11:40 P M Bolen called. Got Whiskey & Rock Candy for him.

15 Thursday. Good day. John finished drilling oats. Dan Empson called this morning. Sowed 20 acres of Oats with seeder after noon. Returned seeder to W. A. Pierce's. A D Goble Called twice During the day.

16 Friday Fearful wind South. Commenced to cultivate in Oats. Mother went to Rice this morning to meet Madam Child A woman Sufferageist who spoke at the center this evening. House full. Considerably Disgusted. Had I remained at home I would not of changed my opinion. Home 11 P M George Came home this evening. Mother was called to Ike Reeves about midnight. Mrs Ike being very sick.

17 Saturday. Fearful wind & dust South. Mrs. Lady Child went to Rice this Morning with Neighbor Henderson. Boy cultivating in Oats Mother Home a little after noon. Bad Bad Day. Disagreeable Lewis & Daughter stop[p]ed in during the storm. Also Dan Young and Mr Johnson The most terrific Storm of wind and Dust I ever Saw. Terrible Storm, wind & Dust. Between 5 & 6 P. M Awful Storm.

18 Sunday. Cloudy & cool Rained a little early this morning Boys went to Rice this morning for our Mail. Mean Disagreeable day. John Bought a pair of Shoes

19 Monday. Cloudy & fizzled a little in forenoon. Finished cultivating in Oats at noon. John Harrowed after noon. Old Man Spargur called this afternoon. Also W. H. Bolen. & loaned him our Iron Kettle.

20 Tuesday. Rained a little & cloudy all day. finished harrowing Oats ground. Returned Bolens Harrow. John, Mother & Lottie went to town. Lottie started for Topeka. Bolen brought Our Mail from Rice, John Drove Mary Ellen to Rice this evening

21 Wednesday. Pleasant in forenoon. Mother & I went to town after noon. A little after we started the wind came up and blowed fearful. Wind changing to west. Toward evening turned cold. Drew \$62.50 School money Deposited it with \$90.00 of my own money in cloud co. Bank. Left \$1.40 at C. A. Betournays for Huscher for use of Drill. Home before dark & still getting colder. 9 P. M. very cold. High wind west.

22 Thursday. Cloudy & Disagreeable. High wind west and North west. Cold. Old gentleman [Matthew] Naillieux Buried to day. Age 63 years 6 months & 5 days old. Bolen & wife Called this morning. Returned our Kettle. Bad Disagreeable day. Cold.

23 Friday Pretty Decent day. Helped Goble take up & put down his pump. Went to town after Dinner. Attended Chapter. N. B. Brown took Mark Master Degree. Staid all night with Dr. McCasey.

24 Saturday. Cloud[y] & cold. Wind north. Came home with W. H Bolen. Gave Dr McCasey check for nine \$9.00 for John a watch. Home Mother & I went to town. Started at 5:30 P. M Forgot my over alls left them at Fred. Grunwalds Found them there. Attended lodge Chapter. Earl V. D. Brown received Mark and Past Master Degrees. We staid all night with Dr McCasey. *Eli Covered Maud.* Time Feb 24, 1895

25 Sunday. Easter. Home 11 A. M. Mother & I went to Thompsons. Clear & cold. Home 5:30 P. M.

26 Monday. Clear and cool Plowed Potato Ground. I went to Bowlens after noon. Hon. Snively called this evening. Wash day. 10 Degrees above zero this morning.

27 Tuesday. Clear & cold wind south. Dusty. Bad Disagreeable day. John hauled Manure. Bill Pierce brought our mail. Cold. John went to Rice in evening. A. D. Goble & W. H. Bolen called to day

28 Wednesday. Here is another . . . day. Cold & Fearful wind from the north. Dusty and Disagreeable day. John took the Kids to School this morning. Awful wind & Dust. John Brought the Kids from School. Wind abated toward evening. Sousie Bullled by Jims Black bull. Time Dec 28, 1894

29 Thursday. Clear & cold. F. A. Thompson & Lady Called this morning. John went to Aurora Drove Mell & Eli.

30 Friday. Clear & cold. High Wind South. Hauled a gag [jag?] of hay. Eli Covered Maud this morning. Last day of Our School Mother & I attended school. Had big dinner. John went to town after George. Fearful Wind & dust after noon. Awful Dust. Good attendance at school. Made a little speech to the Kids.

31 Saturday. Pretty Decent day. Mother sick. John went to Aurora for Dr McDonald. George went to Aurora in evening for Medicine the Dr did not have with him. Also a cyringe. Lewis Lawrence Called to get colts for Pasture. at 50¢ each per month. Engage 4 for his pasture.

April, 1893 [1894]

1 Sunday. Good day. Mother better. John took George part way to town. Gave Mrs Dr McCasesy check for \$5.00 for Georges Board. I went to Aurora after noon to consult Dr. McDonald. Cloudy and wind East and South east. John took George part way to town. Dr McDonald's Baby very sick. Met Dr Priest of Concordia Also Dr [S. V.] Fairchild of Miltonvale at Dr McDonalds. John & Mabel went to the center to church this evening. Mollie Goble and Mrs Henderson Called Mother Better Paid C M Troup \$1.25 Knights of Pythias dues.

2 Monday. High wind South. Dusty and Disagreeable. Went to Aurora after dinner Commenced to plow for corn. Used Eli ½ day. Dr McDonald Baby a little better. Ladies Thompson & Bolen called.

3 Tuesday Wind north & fearful Dust. Mean Disagreeable day. Went to Bolens and helped take up his pump Bolen E. P. Reeves and A. D. Goble helped me take up our pump and put it

down. Hen Snavelly Called. Also Will Walno, and Peddler. John Plowed.

4 Wednesday. High wind north. Freddie & I went to Rice after Dinner. A D Goble. Received a letter from Virge Stewart. John & I went to Aurora in the evening

5 Thursday Good Decent day

6 Friday Fearful wind & Dust Freddie & I went to town after noon & brought George home Threatened rain but all blowed away. Home a little before dark. Dr McDonalds little Girl died this morning. C. F. Roger & Don. Atwood called this after noon. John got his watch to day. A gold watch for nine Dollars

7 Saturday. Fine day. Planted Potatoes Peas & Parsnip[s]. Attended the funeral of Dr McDonalds little Girl, at Sulphur springs. Larg[e] funeral Precession. Home Just before dark. Dr Rev. Bushell preached the funeral Sermon, & a good one.

8 Sunday. Cloudy. Rained & Hailed a trifle. wind changed to north west and Blowed a fearful gale of dust & wind.

9 Monday. High wind N. W George Drove to town and back in evening Lizzie Bertram called also one Straw buyer and one Beggar Eli covered Mary Ellen in the evening

10 Tuesday. Pretty good day. Wash day. Went to Rice [in] after noon. F. A. Thompson Called this evening

11 Wednesday. Pretty good day. Ladies Kellenbarger[r], Reev[e]s & Miss Huscher, Grand Pap Groves called. Dr John Had a call to Waltons.

12 Thursday. Wind East & N. E. John Plowing.

13 Friday. Rained a little last night and this morning. Mother went to town with George. Leoffler Heifer Bullled by little Peter Bull. John plowing. I went to town after noon. Rained good. Attended chapter. N. B. Brown took Past Masters Degree Rained good during the night. Staid all night at Dr McCasey. Had Brexfast with Democrat Smith. Had our plow sharpened. Bought George Suit of clothes, Saturday morning.

14 Saturday. Home 11 A M cloudy. John went to Aurora. George went to Rice for our Mail

15 Sunday. Good day. Kids went to Sunday School. and church at night. Charley Pierce was here also George Reeves Kids. Dan Empson and Lady Called. Wrote a letter to William Lochran commissioner of Pensions in relation to my claim.

16 Monday. Pretty good day. plowed and Planted Onions. Eli Covered Mell. Time March 16, 1895

17 Tuesday. warm & cloudy threatened rain. Sowed Lettuce Seed. Made Fence. High wind. S. 8:15 P. M commenced to rain and hailed a little. Grand glorious good rain. Thank God for it.

18 Wednesday. Clear & Pleasant 10 A. M All bustling around getting ready for the wedding at Thompsons. Good Rain last night. Henderson & Bolen Called this morning. Mother, John, Mable Freddie and the old Man went to Thompson's to the wedding of Miss Jennie and Alvin Wilkens Grand good dinner Home 5:30 P. M Rained a little. Henderson was here.

19 Henderson brought his cattle here to have them De Horned. Went with Henderson to town Rained a little Had a round up with George Marshall. J J McFarland of Clyde and Brother Hull. visited the Boys at the court House. Home just before dark High wind North west & cold. John had a call to Gardener's

20 Friday. Cold mean day.

21 Saturday. Pretty fair day. Planted Potatoes. John had a call to Gardeners. John went to Rice in evening. George & I went to Alliance in evening.

22 Sunday fine d[ay]. John was called to Thompsons. Mother & Mabel visited Bolens in evening. Freddie visited at Pierces. Dr Thompson called this eve.

23 Monday. Good day. Wash Day. John called to Gardner's I plowed in his absence. E. P. Reeves called this eve, brought our Mail.

24 Tuesday. Good day. Commenced to plant corn. George sick. Dr. McCasey Called in evening and had Supper with us. Representative of Topeka Press Called to day.

25 Wednesday. Good day. John Planted corn. the old man plowed. cloudy & misted a little.

26 Good day. Thursday

27 Friday. Good rain last night. Kit Goble Called to day. Boys attended the woman meeting at the Center.

28. Saturday. went to town with Thompsons. Attended County Alliance. Good meeting. Home 6:30 P M. High wind and Dusty, Disagreeable day.

29 Sunday. High wind W S E Cloudy. John called to G. L. Reeves. Little Jersey Heifer calved 25 Days before time Bull calf.

30 Monday. cloudy & high wind South east. Disagreeable

Attended town Board meeting at Henderson after noon. Plowed in forenoon. John cultivated. John Planted after noon.

May, 1894

1 Pretty decent day. Cultivated all day. fearful tired. Bolen called this eve & John cut Phelix.

2 Wednesday Mother & Mabel went to town. Frankie McCassey Came home with them. Fea[r]ful wind & Dust. Wind South west John cut Maginty this morn[ing] Bolen came before Brex-fast. Lewis got seed corn But no pay. Luney called for Straw to fill his beds. Charley Pierce came to play with Fred. 2 Ladies stop[p]ed for water. Black Sow Pixed. Eli Covered Mary Ellen. Commenced to rain 10 P. M Good rain

3 Thursday. fine day. Grand glorious good rain last night. Everything looks encouraging this morning. A D Goble Called this morning for water.

4 Friday. Cloud[y]. Good rain. Hailed Hard for awhile. Mrs Bolen called this morning

5 Saturday. Cloudy. otherwise Pleasant. Worked at Grave yard in fore noon. After noon Boys took 4 colts to Lewis Lawrence pasture Maud, 3 years old, Bay. Sall, 3 years old Bay. Maggie 1 year old Brown Lucy 1 year old Brown 50¢ per month each. I went to town with Gardner and Woolard. Home in good Season. Received a letter from Nellie & Virg with note to J. C. Zimmerman give[n] April 10 1882 for \$150.00 Said note Paid in full May 2nd 1894 Daniel Ward Called.

6 Sunday. Good day. Boys went to Sunday School. Judge Stoner stop[p]ed this morning. Dan Empson & family visited us to day. Dr. McCassey Called and took Frankie home Mabel went with them

7 Monday. Good day. John cut stalks. I went to town to Mill. 6 Bus. wheat 2 of corn Home 2 P. M. Freddie went with me. Mabel came home with us.

8 Tuesday. Good day. the old Man cut stalks. John commenced to list corn. Elmer Henderson Called in the evening. John Called to Woodruffs to castrate a colt.

9 Wednesday. Good day. John listing the old Man shelled seed corn & Plowed potatoes & Planted melons & Beans. Gardner brought old Lady Reeves here this eve. Bolen Brought our mail. Commenced to Rain about 7 P M and rained good, and still raining at 9 P. M

10 Thursday. Clear & cold. High wind North. Good rain last

night. Lewis called this morning for seed corn. Everything looks promising

11 Friday. Good day. Finished pla[n]ting corn. Planted Sweet corn. John went to Rice this after noon. John cut Eli this morning. Bolen & E. P. Reeves Called this morn[ing]. Wash Day. Wind South & cool. Delforge Called also Bill & Henry Price. Loaned our Lister to Price Bros. Salvation Army Sufferagists meets this evening [at] the Center. Fine Weather.

12 Saturday. Good day. Went to town. Bought Potatoes Peaches and Beans. Home 7 P. M John went to Aurora and sold one load of corn, 47 Bus [@] 30¢ per Bushel = \$14.10

13 Sunday. Clear & high wind South. Children went to Sunday School in fore noon. After noon John Mother went to Stoners place to Singing. George went some place. I dont know where. Young Cole Called to See George after noon. Charley Pierce came home with Fred from Sunday School.

14 Monday. High wind South Commenced to cultivate corn. The old man Petered out the 1st day.

15 George quit school Boys cultivated corn 13 acres. Cleaned House yesterday & to day. Mollie Goble the Boss. Show at the School house this evening. The old Man on the lift. Awful & fearful tired stiff & sore. Horse Buyer called. Henderson sold one of his mares for \$70.00 awful cheap.

16 Wednesday. High wind South west Boys cultivating Corn.

17 Thursday. High wind North west. Wash day. The old Man on the lift went to town with Goble Bought Hats and Socks \$1.20 cigars 10¢ Beer 25¢ Dinner 25¢. Total \$1.80 Home in season. Boys cultivated corn.

18 Friday Fearful cold. Clear & cold. Boys went to town with corn. Sold for 30¢. George Bought shoes.

19 Saturday Big Frost this morning coocked [sic] Tomatoes Beans, Corn and weeds. Something Most extraordinary such a frost so late in May. Mother, Mabel & Grandmother Reeves went to town this afternoon. Boys made fence around the orchard. Clear cold. Slight wind North East.

20 Sunday. Clear & cool. Kids attended Sunday School. Mother & I visited after noon with Hendersons also called on Gardners. Kids attended church in th[e] evening at the Center.

21 Monday. Clear & cold. Boys cultivating corn. Mother & the old Man went to town after noon. Mother Staid to take in the woman sufferage Meeting for 2 days. Had bottle Beer with Carnahan & Dave Turner. Dr Pigman called this eve.

22 Tuesday. Cloudy & cold. Finished plowing checked corn the first time. John & I went to the Caucus and Both of us elected delegates to the co. convention J. T. Henderson Called in the eve. Mother still in town.

23 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. John & Freddie went to town after Mother. Plowed our Potatoes. Judge Stoner Called this morning Boys took Maginty & Phelix to Lawrences Pasture this after noon. Mother went to D—— H—— S—— Lady S—— S—— being very sick nervous Prostration. Getting Married did not agree with her. John cut Two colts for Woolards. The Kids went to Singing in the evening at the Center. Freddie and the old Man at home alone.

24 Thursday. Pretty good day. John & I attended P. P. Co. convention. John came home in evening. I staid and attended Knights of Pythias Lodge, where there was a second & third [degree] conferred. Afterward Banquet at Colsons. visitors from Clyde & Aurora. I came home with the Aurora Boys Home 2:30 A. M Good time at lodge

25 Friday. Pleasant & cool. Wash day. wind north west. Good dew last night first for a long time. Nice Pleasant day. George went to town after noon to Buy supplies for oyster feast. John Freddie, Mabel & Mother & George attended the stew at the Center. The old Man at home alone.

26 Saturday Clear & warm. Mother & I went to Aurora. It being Phil Millers birth Day. Also that of Bill Durkee. Miller 76 years. Durkee 58. about 50 ate Dinner there. Good time all around. Came home by Davy Secrists. . . . Home 6 P. M

27 Sunday. Good day. Kids went to Sunday School. and church at night. Clear & cool.

28 Monday Cloudy & cool wind North East. Mother & Mabel went to town after noon. John Harrowed 20 acres of listed corn. Mean day. Dusty. George went to Rice after Dinner

29 Tuesday. Cloudy & warm. High wind South east. Boys commenced to Cultivate checked corn the second time. Disagreeable Day for corn plowing. the old Man Howed weeds.

30 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. Decoration day. John & I went to town. Surprise party this eve at Bolens. He being 27 Grand good time. Grand glorious good rain last night. A god send to us. Big flood in town last night

31 Thursday. Clear & cool. John went to town with 5 Hogs weigh 1200 [@] $4.17\frac{1}{2} = \$50.10$ Home at noon. George cul-

tivated Corn. Boug[ht] 100 lbs Sugar \$4.75 Axel grease 25¢
Total \$5.00 Wash day

June, 1894

1 Friday Clear & hot, wind South South west & west. Ida Kellenbarger & Gib Slater were here Sold John Kellenbarger 30 bus. Shelled corn. 30¢ = \$9.00 not Paid.

2 Saturday. Pretty good day. Mabel & the old Man went to town after noon. Frankie McCasey Came home with us.

3 Sunday. Cloudy and hot Childrens Day in Henderson Grove. Big Dinner. All round good time Mrs. Kellenbarger over come with heat. George brought two Ladies from town and took the[m] back in after noon. Dr McCasey & Family visited us to day. After noon wind changed to north. and got cooler.

4 Monday. Cloudy and fearful hot. wind South. Boys cultivating corn. Dr Pigman stop[p]ed for Water. The old man on the lift.

5 Tuesday. Clear & cool. Hig[h] wind North east. Good rain last night fearful wind last night. George took three head [of] cattle to Sam Naillieux Pasture. one yearling steer red & white spotted. Horns Sawed off. One Roan 2 year old cow with horns on. one red & white spotted heife[r] 2 years old. 40¢ per month for pasture. A. D. Goble Called this morning. Mother and the Kids Picking Cherries at Bolens. Boys cultivating Bolen Brought our Mail this Morning.

6 Wednesday. Clear & cool. Went to town with Henderson. The Roan cow & yearling Steer we took to Sam Naillieux Pasture yesterday Came home to day. Dr McCasey Called to day

7 Thursday. Clear & cool Finished cultivating listed corn 1st time. John Plowed Potatoes after Dinner. George went to Sam Naillieux Pasture. Failed to do his duty Came home without Knowing

8 Friday. Cloudy and cool. John & Mabel went to town in forenoon. George mulched Potatoes. Jim Bertram cut our alfalfa. John Raked it up in evening and hauled in a jag. Lady Bolen Called this morning. Sold W. H. Bolen 4 Bus. wheat \$1.60. 6 P. M. High wind Thundering and threatening rain. Hope it will. The old Man on the lift. Rheumatism

9 Saturday. Big rain last night. Best Rain this Summer. Best rain this year. Everything looks fresh and good this morning. W H Bolen & Elmer Henderson Called this morning. George helped

Henderson take up his pump this morning John went to Rice for our Mail this morning I went to Henderson in the evening to help him take up his pump.

10 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. Mother was Called to George Snavelys. Baby case. F. A. Thompson & family visited us to day. Boys went to Ames this afternoon.

11 Monday Good day Plowed &c Loaned Lewis 20 bushels of shelled corn. Loaned him 4 bushels of seed corn in May. Due me from Lewis on account of 24 bus. Corn to be paid for or return the Amount of corn 24 bushels Present price 32¢ Per Bus. 24 Bushels [@] 32¢ [Total] \$7.68

12 Tuesday. Plowed Potatoes and Millet Ground. John went to Sam. Naillieux pasture & to town. Bought Millet seed. Sowed Millet Spectable [spectacle] . . . man called and Goosed us out of \$10.00 for three Pairs of glasses. We were Hansomly taken in by the Sharper.

13 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. Wash day. Boys went to town and to mill. Drove Dudley. Wind South east & looks like rain & we can Stand a good rain. Sold one Dozen chicke[n]s \$3.76 Boys sent Charleys trunk to him, at Topeka. Paid \$1.00 to redeem it. Paid Jim Bertram Cash \$1.00 for Mowing Our alfalfa. George went to Rice in evening for mail.

14 Thursday. Warm & Pleasant. Pulled artichokes out of the corn. John went to Rice in evening. Received a letter from Charley.

15 Friday. Cloudy & cool. Mother Mabel, and Fred went to town. A D Goble brought a cow and Bulled by Ezekiel. John Kellenbarger Called. Boys Pulling artichokes Grand Good Rain. Reached the Potatoes

16 Saturday. Cloudy & warm went to town with Henderson Henderson Brought a cow to my Bull Ezekiel in evening. John Campbell Called in evening to buy corn.

17 Sunday. Good Day. Everything looks promising since the rain. Kids attended Sunday School. Ira & Charley visited with us, to day. Boys attended Services at the center this evening. Tom Cole Called this evening.

18 Monday. Cloudy and cool. Wash day. John went to Rice in Morning. I helped Henderson take up his pump. He had to go to town. I helped him put it down after Dinner. It would not go. he had to go to town again. John helped him put it down after Supper. Boys commenced at noon to cultivat[e] checked corn the third time.

19 Tuesday. Clear. High wind south East & Dusty. Boys Plowing corn. Mrs Smith & McCasey Called. Mrs Smith Staid all night.

20 Wednesday. Mrs Smith here Boys plowing corn. Commenced to Rain 10 to 5 P. M. and rained near an hour. Grand Good glorious Rain. Reached down for the potatoes. Heavy thunder & Sharp lightning. Best Rain this Season.

21 Thursday. Cloudy & rained Good Shower in forenoon. Ground full of water, well soaked. A D Goble and old Gentleman Spargur called Spargur had Supper with us. John took Mrs. Kentucky Smith home. Washed the buggie this evening.

22 Friday. Good day. George went to Rice in morning. John in the evening. Boys went to "Hen" (Suffrage) meeting in the evening. This is the longest day in the year. Planted cucumber seed.

23 Saturday. Cloudy. Good rain in the forenoon. Ground full of water *Cool*. Wind in early morning, north later, South east. George went to Rice for our mail. Bolen brought our mail. 8 P M Cloudy & threatening rain. Thundering & lightning, looks Threatening Storm. A. D. Goble Called to day figured out his load of corn for him. 8:30 P M Commenced to Storm and rain. Rained and blowed furiously. Big rain.

24 Sunday. Cloud[y] & clear and fearful hot. I went to John Stillingers in evening. Boys went to church in eve.

25 Monday. Cloudy & warm. Boys Brought Gobles Seed Hog and turned him with our Sows. J. T. Henderson called twice to day. Elmer Henderson brought our Mail. George on the lift this evening.

26 Tuesday. Clear & hot went to town with Fred Keoster. Home 2 P. M. George & Freddie went to Rice in evening.

27 Wednesday. Clear & warm. Wash day. Tried to cultivate after dinner, but it was too wet. John went to Rice in evening. Harvey Clev[e]land Called in eve. and informed us that Mrs [Helen Adelaide] Sawdy⁵³ was dead. will be buried at 40 tomorrow at 12 noon.

28 Thursday. Clear & hot. Mother & I attended Mrs Sawdy's funeral. Sermon preached at Ames, by Anniversalists [Universalists?]. Boys cultivated corn. Used Eli. Mrs Sawdy Born Dec 6, 1826 Died June 26, 1894 67 years 6 mo. & 20 D.

53. Mrs. Sawdy was an early settler in Nelson township and the wife of Festus "Proff" Sawdy. She was the mother of Mrs. Simon Farnham of Lyons and Mrs. Will Brower of Clay Center.—"Kansas State Census," Cloud county, Nelson township, 1875, p. 7; Clay Center Dispatch and The Farmers' Voice, Clyde, June 28, 1894.

29 Friday. Clear & fearful hot in forenoon. Mabel and I went to town in forenoon. Subscribed for The New York World \$1.10 Also the Topeka Daily Press \$3.00 Home for Dinner. Boys commenced again to cultivate in checked corn. H. V. Spalding Called for our school went to town in evening with Denny Davis staid all night with Dr McCasey. Attended Chapter. Col. Brown Earl Brown & Hursey Barber took Most Excellent Master.

30 Saturday. in town all day. Came home with Goble F. A. Thompson & wife stop[p]ed with us for supper and then attended alliance. Delegates elected. To wit Mr & Mrs Bolen. Mr & Mrs Pierce Mrs Thompson G L Reeves, G. A. Young J. T. Henderson.

July, 1894

1 Sunday Clear & warm. Kids attended Sunday School I went to Stillingers in eve. Boys went to church in eve.

2 Monday. Clear & hot. Old Lady Hoffman Buried to day age 74½ years. Laid by 65 acres of corn. Checked, finished up sweet corn. Returned Gobles Seed Hog.

3 Tuesday. Cloudy & cool. Rained a good Shower in forenoon. George plowed corn for Goble. John went to town after noon for binding twine. Bought 62 lbs 7½¢ per lb = \$4.65. George Came home from Goble this eve.

4 Wednesday. Glorious 4th of July. Good rain last night Cloudy & cool. Went to Feifs Grove where the French had a big blowout. John went to Feifs grove after noon. George went in the evening.

5 Thursday. Pretty good day. Wash day. George working for Goble. Henderson & family Goble and family, Bolen & wife ate Ice Cream with us this eve.

6 Friday Cloudy & Pleasant. John & Mabel went to town in forenoon. John went to Rice in evening. Good Day. wind South east.

7 Saturday. Clear & warm. George went to town early in the morning to have a tooth pulled. Mother Mabel and Freddie went to Kellenbargers after Dinner. John cultivating corn for Goble. Lewis Lawrence Called to day. Bolen finished cultivating corn to day

8 Sunday. Clear & warm. Al. Norton was here for Dinner, also Charley Pierce. A D. Goble called this after noon. Hon. W. H. Savary Called this morning to water his Horse. Boy went to Dis 40 to Baptiseing. Dull and lonesome.

9 Monday. Clear & Pleasant. Boys cultivating corn. I went to town in forenoon with Henderson. Home at noon. Kit Goble brought our Mail. Received a letter from Dr [J. H.] McCasey at Topeka. Stephen Gennette & Fred Taylor Called.

10 Tuesday. Good day. Finished Cultivating corn for this year at noon. Commenced to cut oats. George went to Rice in evening. Received a letter from sister Millie. Awful strike in Chicago.

11 Wednesday. Cold morning with appearance and indication of hot winds. Freddie and the old man went to town. home 10:30 A. M. Pretty near hot winds after noon. Lady Bolen Called this after noon. Jim Broke his Sickles. Fearful strike going on. Fearful Poor strikers will in the end be beaten. Attended Knights of Pythias at Aurora. Paid my dues from July 1st to October 1st 1894 \$1.25 Home midnight.

12 Thursday. Clear & hot 99 in the Shade. No harvesting to day. Goble called to day. John went to town with Jim Bertram this after noon. Marble man Stone Cutter called. P. M. Gates.

13 Pretty good day. went to town after noon. Staid all night with Dr [T. C.] McCasey. Attended Chapter. N. B. Brown Earl Brown & H W Barber took R. A. Banquet at Colson.

14 Saturday. Cloudy & cool. rained a little Bought 6 Balls twine. Frankie McCasey came home with me. Sent Dr Bigelow \$5.00 Finished Cutting oats. John went to town in evening. George went to Rice for our Mail.

15 Sunday. Good day. George went to Rice in morning to meet O. W. Hendee. He failed to come. But came in afoot in evening. Staid all night.

16 Monday. Good day. I took O W Hendee to Rice this morning Boys hauling manure. went fishing after noon. Elmer Henderson called for our Ice freezer. Ate Ice Cream at Henderson in eve.

17 Tuesday. Pretty decent day. Mabel & I went to town. George went with wagon. Bought lumber for hay Rack. Home at noon. John went to help Delforge thresh after noon. H. F. Rogers & J. T. Henderson called. George went to Rice in evening for Our Mail.

18 Wednesday. Clear & hot wind South. A hard day on Our Corn. J W Campbell & Elmer Henderson & Jim Bertram Called. John went to Rice in evening, for Mail.

19 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. Dr McCasey called in the morning Jim Hagaman & Frank Holcomb stop[p]ed and had dinner with us. Also Dr McCasey Called Second time and had dinner here. Dr [John] Young went to town in forenoon, and went to town after Dinner with Dr McCasey. 4 P. M cloudy & thundering and threatens *Rain*. We need it awful *bad*. hard on our corn. wind changed to North cool in evening

20 Friday. Cloudy & cool in forenoon, but clear & cool after noon. wind north. Mother & Freddie went to town. George helped Henderson stack. John in town Mabel went to Bertrams after dinner. Jim Bertram called for John.

21 Saturday. Clear & hot. Hard day on our corn. George helping Henderson stack. John helping Ewingham [Newingham?] thresh. Freddie & the Old Man went to Rice in eve. Jack Matthews & Minzy Empson were here for dinner.

22 Sunday. Clear & hot wind South west. fearful hard day on our corn. John went fishing and lost a call for a sick horse. Mother & I went to Goble after dinner. Had Ice cream & cake. John Caught one big Cat fish.

23 Monday. Clear & fearful hot. wind changing all day. I helped Newingham finish Threshing. Boys Stacking Oats. Bill Savary and John Sheridan Called to day, Also Elmer Nutting for our school, 104 Degrees in the Shade, Fearful hot. Awfully Hott.

24 Tuesday wind north East. The first time on record we had hot winds from North East. Fearful day on the corn Begins to look as tho the corn was gone. Mabel & I went to town. Boys stacking Oats. A few days like to day will do us in good Shape. God help us.

25 Wednesday. Cloudy & hot Hot winds from South East. The First on record from that direction. Milt Maddox & Daughter [May] calle[d] to see about our school. Movers from Chase co. Neb. Stop[p]ed for water, with 20 Head of Horses. They report terrible times in the north west. Boys stacke[d] Oats. Awful day on our Corn. Just about Petered out. One day more will do it. God help us Poor Devils.

26 Thursday. Clear & hot. High wind South. Fearful day on our corn. Corn most of it Killed to day. God help us. Boys stacked Oats. School meeting. W. A. Pierce elected Clerk, voted 8½ Mills for school purposes. \$19.64 Balance in Treasure. Selected May Maddox for Teacher. Fearful Day. Awful Day. Bad Day.

27 Friday. Cloudy & hot. wind South. George went to town after noon. Finished Stacking Oats this noon. Pierce Borrowed my well tools

28 Saturday. Cloudy & hot. John and I went to town and Staid all day. Went to Alliance meeting in evening.

29 Sunday. Mother, Freddie, Mabel and I. went to Thompson visiting. Goble & family & Lady Cleveland were there. Gobels spring wagon broke down coming home. Goble and I footed it 1½ miles. Boys at home all day alone. Came home after dark.

30 Monday. Clear & hot. Town Board meeting. John helping Bolen stack. Henderson & Laman were here. Sam Townsden Called. George Snavelly cut our Alfalfa. Corn Petered out. Lady Roach called George went to Rice this morning for Our Mail. Paid George Snavelly Cash \$1.00 for cutting Alfalfa. Poor job.

31 Tuesday. Cloudy & hot. wind South & South East until about 6 P. M then changed to north east then South east. Thundered & lightened & threatened rain. But all passed away. Hauled in our Alfalfa. 6 good loads The best crop in two years John went to Aurora this morning. George got Gobles Rake. Hen. Snavelly got water here to day.

August, 1894

1 Wednesday. Cloudy and warm threatened rain all day. but failed. I went to town after noon with Henderson. George went to town after noon. Wash day. Judge Stoner Called this evening

2 Thursday Pretty good Day. George & I attended co. Alliance at Wilcox School House. Good turnout. John went to Mill Delia Smith Came home with John & Mabel.

3 Friday. Cloudy & cool. Mother and the Kids went fishing. The old man at home alone.

4 & 5 is for Saturday & Sunday. . . . Pretty decent day. went to town with Hebert. Staid all day. Boys went fishing Caught a fine Mess. Grand Pap Miller . . . and wife visited us to day [Sunday]. Mother, Freddie & the old man visited Bolens in evening George went to town. John Someplace else. John went to Church in evening.

6 Monday. Clear & warm. wind S. George helped Ike Woodruff Thresh John went to Rice in morning. Freddie & I went to Woodruffs after noon to look after Threshing Machine.

7 Tuesday. Clear & hot. High wind South. Lady Snavelly Called and went with Mother to Dan Empson's after noon. John Helping Jim Bertram thresh after dinner. A. D. & Mollie Goble

Called. went to Bertrams to See them thresh. John went to Rice in morning for Our Mail. Received letter from Sister at Wichita. Mother & Lady Snavelly went to Dan Empsons & Kellenbargers

8 Wednesday. Clear & hot wind South. Freddie & I went to Rice in evening. George helped Pierce Thresh. Freddie & I went to Henderson in evening.

9 Thursday. Hot wind South. Mother Mabel Freddie Delia Smith and all went to Soonover to meet Sister. Fred[d]ie & the old man went to Rice in evening for coal.

10 Friday. Clear & hot Went to town and home til noon. Boys helped Bolen thresh. Machine came 2 P. M. commenced to thresh 3 P. M. threshed out 404 bus. Oats. Fannie came 5 P. M.

11 Saturday. Clear & hot. Hot winds. Finished Threshing Had 943 bushels of Oats at $2\phi = \$18.86$. . . Went to town after dinner Henderson went with me. Home a little after dark.

12 Sunday. Clear & hot. John and Ira Pierce went to Rice in the morning.

13 Monday. Clear & hot. John and I helped George Laman Thresh. Old Bushe's Team ran away with water wagon. George went to Sam. Naillieux Pasture for our Heifer. High wind South West. An awful day. every thing drying up.

14 Tuesday. Rained a small *bit*. Cloudy & cool in forenoon, hot after noon. George helped Shafer Thresh after noon. Sheriff arrested C—— C—— this evening.

15 Wednesday. Clear & hot. Sister & Mother went to town. Grand Pap Groves called, and had dinner with us. George helped Shafer thresh. John helped Goble thresh after Dinner. High wind South East. Sister's Beau Came this evening Mr. House.

16 Thursday. Cloud & clear & hot. High wind South and West & north East, then north. Boys helped Goble & George Snavelly & G. L. Reeves thresh. Mrs Dr Else Died to day. Bolen & wife Called to day.

17 Friday. Clear & hot. Awful day. George helped Reeves thresh. John went to town & had a call to Henderson. A sick cow. Lady Swope called and visited us all day. I went to Jo. Alexanders, Ladeaux and F. A. Thompson's. Home 9:15 P. M

18 Saturday. Clear & hot. Boys went to town with 4 Hogs weight 875 [@] $4.90 = \$42.87$ Paid Jim Bertram \$20.75 for Harvesting George Staid to help Dr. John Brough[t] a calf from Smiths. Mother, Mabel & Sister went to town. Mabel and Sister Staid Mother brought Hellen McCases Home. Fred & I re-

paired fence. John & I went to Caucus at the Center. Good Stout Caucus. Favorable delegates were elected. Dan Empson & Dick Reeves Called. also baby Empson.

19 Sunday. Clear & hot until 5 P. M The[n] cloudy & cooler. Grand Pap Groves Called & was here for dinner. Sam. Naillieux Called. George went to Sunday School. Charley Pierce was here

20 Monday. Cloudy & fearful hot. George worked for Dr McCasey in forenoon. John went to town in morning. Grand Pap Groves went with him. Mabel came home with John also Frankie McCasey. John, Freddie and I went to Lawrence's Pasture for our colts. Henderson got his at Same time. I Paid Lawrence's Boy Cash \$10.00 for Pasture. Henderson Paid Same Boy \$10.50 Cash for Pasturing his colts. Grant Davis Called Also Bill Price. May Maddox Called to have Contract Signed. Fearful wind and dust sprung up about 7 P M from North East.

21 Tuesday Wash day. Cloudy & warm. Boys cutting corn. Sam Magaw and Son Called for our Cider Mill.

22 Wednesday. Some clouds and hot. Boys working on the road. 5 Dagoes stop[p]ed and eat their Dinner. They are a happy Set. Wind South Big Blowout at Henderson's Mrs Henderson's Birth Day. 62 neighbors & friends present. Grand Good Supper. Sister & Hubby among them.

23 Thursday. Cloud[y] & hot. Boys working in the hay. The old man & Fred went to Rice after noon. Paid Grant Davis cash \$16.95 in full for threshing as per order from Bush and Goring. Mother & Sister went to Thompson's in the evening. Hot fearful hot.

24 Friday. Fine day for hay. Got in a good lot of hay. Rained a little in the evening. I went to town in evening. Attend[ed] Chapter. Staid all night with Dr McCasey.

25 Saturday. Clear & hot. Peoples Party Convention. Big crowd. 135 delegates. H H Young nominated for Probate Judge on First ballot N Nadeau for Clerk of District clerk [court]. J. E. McCallister [McAllister] for co Superintendent. Pierce E. Butler for co attorney. Robert Hanson for Representative. Sam Maddox for Commissioner for Second District.⁵⁴ Fearful Hot. Great

54. T. A. Szwili, editor of the *Concordia Empire*, a Republican paper, had the following caustic comment on this Populist slate, in his issue of September 20, 1894: "The pops are preparing to open their campaign in this county the 1st of October and then they expect to round up the voters after the manner of a circular hunt. Noah Nadeau will be the orator of the outfit, Pierce Butler will carry the supply of liquid refreshment, H. H. Young will furnish the calamity and Robert Hanson, in addition to furnishing the necessary funds by means of his patent bank will supply wheels enough from his head to get the party from place to place."

enthusiasm during the convention. C W. Vandemark⁵⁵ made chairman and proceeded to Skin [T. A.] Sawhill [the Republican editor]. Rained a little Shower this evening

26 Sunday. Cloudy & warm. Co. Attorney Savary Called this morning. Went to Bolens in the morning.

27 Monday Went with Bolen & wife E. Gardner & wife A. D. Goble & family to Delphos. Stop[p]ed at Meredith on Pipe creek for dinner. Re union at Delphos.

28 Tuesday. Had some Beer at Delphos. Received a message from N L Nadeau to come to Concordia at once. Started at one oclock Arrived in Beloit 2 P. M. left Beloit 3:33 P M Arrived at Concordia 6 P. M. Staid all night with Judge Stoner.

29 Wednesday. Came down on the Santa Fe and home for dinner. Boys making hay. Mother & sister went to town.

30 Thursday. Hauled hay. Hot. Thundered a little. Sold a way faring man a bushel of oats 35¢. Bolen, Goble and Gardner Came home this after noon. Mother and Sister in town.

31 Friday. Clear & hot. finished mowing. George Snavelly helped us haul ½ day. Jim Shafer Called and returned oats borrowed of me. Also returned Oats for Swope borrowed last year. Shafer brought our mail. Received a letter from H. M. Spalding S C Moore and Dr [J. H.] McCasey.

September, 1894

1 Saturday. Went to town with McRea. Boys finished stacking Hay. Attended com. meeting in town. Came home with Henderson.

2 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. Rained a good rain last night F. A. Thompsons visited us to day Also Dr [T. C.] McCasey & family. Milt Maddox brought his Daughter Our School Mother here. Dan Empson & family ate supper with us. Cool this evening.

3 Monday. Cloudy & warm. Went to Aurora. John went to Rice School Mother went home with her Bro. 1st Day of School.

4 Tuesday. Pretty decent day. Boys cut corn awhile. Sister and Mother went to Kellenbargers. Gave Snavelly order for 4 tons coal at Aurora \$4.40 per ton.

5 Wednesday. Cloudy and Pleasant. Boys finished cutting corn fodder. Ladies Bolen and Henderson Called this after noon. A. D. Goble Called this after noon. George went to Rice this eve for our

55. C. W. Van De Mark, a Free-Silver Republican, was chairman of this Populist meeting. He was the father of the present state senator from Concordia, M. V. B. Van De Mark. Though Senator Van De Mark bears the name of a Democratic President, Martin Van Buren, he has been a lifelong Republican and next year will have completed sixteen years in the state senate. Senator Van De Mark is also a director of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Mail. Sowed a bushel of wheat for Hog pasture. Plowed a fire guard in Orchard. Put tools away

6 Thursday went to town and to the fair staid all night with Kentuck[y] [Smith]

7 Friday Pretty fair day. went to town with Thoms Debook Attended fair Dinner with Dr McCasey. Staid all night with Kentucky Smith. Clear & hot. Mother and sister came to town Sister staid and will start for Wichita tomorrow evening. Mother & I came home. John took Dr McCaseys machine home

8 Saturday. Cloudy & cool rained a little. May Maddox went to town with Ike Woodruff. Mother & John went to town after dinner. George went to town after Supper. The kids and old Man at home alone this evening.

9 Sunday. Cloudy & warm. Rained a littl[e]. Gave George \$2.00 to pay tuition at school. George went to Maddox and will board there this season.

10. Monday. Pretty cool in the morning. Went to Aurora. Paid William Key \$17.60 for 4 Tons of coal \$4.40 per ton. George Started for School. Bolen & wife Called.

11 Tuesday clear & cool. Wash day. John went to town after noon to Mill. Al Therian Called Also Jo LeClare.

12 Wednesday. Clear & cool. Big Pop Rally to day at Concordia. Gov. Lewelling and [Mrs. Annie L.] Dig[g]s⁵⁶ spoke to the multitude of People. Grand good time. The crowd of people estimated at from 3000 to 5000 people.⁵⁷ Mr Sawdy Came home with Mrs Young I came home with Goble. Sawdy Staid all night with us. Liz cow calved. Heifer.

13 Clear and high wind & fearful dusty. Grand Pap Sawdy and I went to Dug Thompsons, from there to F A Thompson where we had dinner. Home 2 P. M Awful dusty and Disagreeable. George Townsdin Called to buy cattle.

14 Friday. Cloudy & cool. Rained a little. Bononi Ledoux returned our cider Mill. John had a call to Lewis Woodruffs. Sold 2 Heifers and one steer for \$45.00 to Jo LeClare John helped

56. Next to Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease, Mrs. Annie L. Diggs was probably the best known woman in the Populist party. She was both a speaker and writer. In 1880 she was a silk-worm enthusiast. Mrs. Diggs served as state librarian from March, 1893, to March, 1902.—William E. Connelley, *Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, New York, 1918), v. 2, pp. 1152, 1153; John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), pp. 165, 166; *Concordia Blade*, September 14, 1894; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 691.

57. The Republican newspaper replied to these estimates: "Pops have been estimating the crowd that attended Gov. Lewelling's meeting here last week at from 2,000 to 15,000. That's all bosh. 600 is a good liberal estimate and a goodly portion of that number were republicans. The pops gathered in all they could get to escort Lewelling from the Barons house to the grove and there were but 205 in the procession as counted by different persons while they were marching. Pops don't spring up out of the bushes now by the thousand as they did three or four years ago."—*Concordia Empire*, September 20, 1894.

drive them home. School Mother Drove Mell home. & George returned with her.

15 Saturday. Clear & cool. I went to Miltonvale. John went to town. Henderson Borrowed our wagon & returned it. George Came from town.

16 Sunday. Cloudy & rained a little. School Mother Came this eve and George went [to] town to school.

17 Monday. Went to Rice, McCallister and to town. Staid all night with Stoner.

18 Tuesday. Started for Glasco. Took dinner with D. S. Steele. Visited Cap Potts and Jim Collins. Staid all night with Garret Davidson.

19 Wednesday Dinner with Phelix Grundy Staid all night with Jimmy Flynn

20 Dinner at Miltonvale. speaking there by W. H. Carpenter Started home 3:30 P M. Caught in a big storm of rain & hail. Fearful storm. Got wet and mud all over. Home 7:30 P. M. Big rain.

21 Friday At home all day. Cloudy and cool. John went to Rice in the Morning. Mrs Woodruff call[ed] this after noon.

22 Saturday. Pretty good day. Went to town with Dug Great-house. Mother & Mabel came to town after noon. Came Home with them.

23 Sunday. Cloudy & cool Went to Henderson & Pierces. George went to town after noon.

24 Monday. Clear & cool Spent the day in Clyde.

25 Tuesday. Cloudy & cool. High wind South. Disagreeable. Mother, John & I went to Kellenbargers. Ida Huscher and Gibson Slater were married, by Rev. Peter Bushong. About 40 being present. Grand good Dinner. Cigars passed after dinner.

26 Wednesday. Pretty decent day. Went to Aurora after noon. Mother went as far [as] Greathouse. Came home by D H Secrists. McManimies & Woodruffs. Home Just at Dark. John to 40 to church this evening. Old Jim Collins and Tom Clegg Called this after noon in my absence. Paid my Dues to Knights of Pythias lodge No 256 Aurora \$1.25

27 Thursday Pretty fair day. John went to town.

28 Friday Went to town with School Mother. George brought team home. Fearful bad day. Wind High South & Dusty. Disagreeable. Attended chapter. I worked the 1st vail. Had Supper at Mrs Hagamans.

29 Saturday. Cloudy & cold Wind north Rained a little last

night. Democratic Convention. Placed full ticket in the field except for county Superintendent. A scheme to elect Mrs Dr [M. L.] Brierly [Brierley] Repub I will remember those Democrats in the future. John & Freddie Came to town after noon. Attended Alliance at center. Boys went to church at 40

30 Sunday. Clear & Pleasant. Big frost this morning. the first this fall. Mother & the Kids attended church at 40 after noon. Very pleasant.

October, 1894

1 Monday. Cloudy & rained nearly all day. Examined co Treasure[r's] Books. Frank McVey and Noah Nadeau Called. then went back to town. No speech.

2 Tuesday. At home all day. Pop meeting at Aurora in the evening. Good turnout.

3 Wednesday. Clear & cool. Mother and I went to Meredith. Big meeting. John Davis spoke to the multitude. Free dinner. High wind north W

4 Thursday. Clear & cool. John Davis spoke at Concordia Pop candidates spoke at Macyville in Arion Township. Clear & cool. went to town after noon. John Davis spoke in courthouse, 4:30 P M started for Fair View School house Dis 67 John Davis spoke there. Staid all night with Andy Driscoll.

5 Friday Went to High Land Church where John Davis spoke to the multitude. Bad day. Rained and Blowed. Had dinner with Frank Hart. Staid all night with George Teazely. Rained Bad cold night

6 Saturday. Pretty good day. went to Glasco. Staid there all day. Spoke at Dis No 105 in Solomon Township South of the River. Good meeting. Staid all night with Phelix [Grundy]. Rained a little

7 Sunday. Clear & cold. High wind north. Came from Phelix Grundys Home Distance 30 miles Home 2 P. M. J. E. McCallister with me all the time. John took him home after Dinner. Boys Dug Potatoes yesterday Had 20 Bushels in South patch.

8 Monday. Clear & cold. Went to town and from there to Buffalo Dis no 99. Good meeting. Staid all night with Robert Ha[n]son

9 Tuesday. Clear & cool. Came from Hansons to Concordia. Had Dinner with Judge Stoner. McCallister with me on the trip Home 3 P M Made speech at Rice in the evening. Home 11:45

P. M Clear & cool. John Mabel & School Mother at the meeting Good meeting. House full.

10 Wednesday. Hanson & Butler Had dinner with us. After noon we all went to Coalfax where we Spoke in the evening. Mc and I staid all nigh[t] with M. D. Horn. Good meeting.

11 Thursday. Clear & cool. Went to Miltonvale, where we had dinner. Horse feed 35¢ dinner 25¢ from there went to St Joseph where we spoke to a full house. Supper 25¢ House Rent \$1.00 Incidentals \$1.25 Total \$2.50 Staid all night with L. O. Fuller. Took Severe cold. On the lift.

12 Went to Clyde. Dinner 25¢ Horse feed 50¢ Incidentals 50¢ Total \$1.25 spoke at Dis no 14 Join[t] Dis. Poor turnout. The old Man still on the lift Got Medicine from Dr Jeannotte. \$1.00 Started home 10 P. M. Home 1 A. M Saturday.

13 Saturday. Clear & cool. The old Man on the lift.

14 Sunday. Clear & Pleasant. At home all day. George Washington Huscher Called this eve. to take our School Mother to church. George went to Maddoxs this eve. John went to 40 to church. A. D. Goble Called. Also Charley Pierce and Judge Stoner.

[Entries immediately following apparently were written by Young's family.]

[15] Monday Pleasant. John picked apples and Papa went out canvassing.

[16] Tuesday. bright and clear. baked bread and washed.

[17] Wednesday. mother went to the reunion⁵⁸ with Mr. Gobles.

[18] Thursday dismissed school. school mother and all went to the Reunion. Mr and Mrs Bolen called in after noon. bringing cider mill home. Mrs Bolen Helped Mother with quilt. Mothers birth day also wedding anniversary. Had a fine large time in Concordia. Lulu Maddox Came home with us.

[19] Friday. The regular routine of business carried on.

[20] Sat[urday]. Mean day the wind blew from South. Kansas is at home to day John husked corn George picked apples in after noon. Mother finished quilt. [Young resumes his entries here.] Arrived in Miltonvale spoke there in evening. Hard storm. Good crowd. Staid all night.

21 Sunday. Pretty Good day. Home at 1 P. M. Dr McCasey

58. An encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic was held at Concordia October 16 to 19.—Concordia Empire, October 4. 18, 1894.

& family here. Frank and Florence Ellison of Topeka here. Boys went to 40 to church in evening.

22 Monday. At home. went to Dis no 74 Center. Enterprise. Lizzie cow Bullied by Ezekiel. Time July 22, 1895 The old man on the lift home from enterprise 1 A. M sick.

23 Tuesday. Clear & cool. Went to concordia and to East Sibley Minersville. Mrs Maddox Called to day. Wash day. The old man Sick. Staid all night with Dr McCasey

24 Wednesday. Staid in town all day. Spoke at Joint Dis No 1 Sibley. Staid all nigh[t] with Jake Matthews.

25 Thursday. Came to town and then took train for Clyde, where Mrs. Lease spoke to the multitude. Came back to Concordia and spoke in the evening at Dis 93 Buffalo Township. Staid all night with R. Hanson.

26 Friday spoke in the eve at Jamestown Staid all night with R. Hanson

27 Came to town and staid all day. spoke in the evening at Dis No 17 Wilcox Saturday evening cold storm and Disagreeable Staid all nigh[t] with Mat Wilcox. Home Sunday noon.

28 Sunday. Cloudy and cold Disagreeable. Home at noon. Prof Sawdy and O. T. Ames here for Dinner

29 Monday. Cloudy and cold. High wind North west. Started from Home after Dinner Staid in town until 4 P. M. then started for The Man school house in Summit Township 19 miles from Concordia. Drove 6 miles out of the way. Staid all nigh[t] with Bro. Gates

30 Tuesday. High wind & cold. Came from Gates in Summit Township to Concor[dia] and then home where the Candidates [spoke] to a full house.

31 Wednesday Clear & Cool. Went to Rice in fore noon to Aurora after noon.

November, 1894

1 Thursday. Cloudy and cool. Went to Clyde. Rained after noon and stormy & Disagreeable. Stop[p]ed at Ames in the evening. But no speaking. Home at 8:30 P M

2 Friday Clear & cool. Went to Concordia in forenoon. Started [at] 2 P. M. for Range line School house with J. E. McCallister. Spoke there. Staid all night with Thomas Vass.

3 Saturday fine day. Big Rally at Concordia Prof. Gaines State Supt. about 5000 People present. Home 6:30 P. M. Tired and worn out. The Boys went to Hen Peck in the eve.

4 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. Dr. McCasey & family and W. B. Smith & family visited us to day. George went to town. John made a call Professionally to Lewises, *Repub.*

5 Monday. Pretty fair day Went to town. Repub. Rally. Small crowd. Home 6 P. M. John set up at Moor[e]'s Charles being sick. Drew Township funds \$150.00 Deposited it in cloud county Bank. At this time it looks like a knock out for the *Pops.*

6 Tuesday. Election Day. Fine day, Complete victory for the repubs.

7 Wednesday. Repubs. Happy. C. Muller called. Paid him Township order \$4.00 Dr McCasey Called after dinner, and reported my *election.* John came home from town I went to town with Dr. McCasey. The repubs Celebration their great victory. They had the Devils own time. Staid all night with Dr. McCasey. Our county and state ticket lost. Only for Probate Judge which the Pops claim by 18 majority.

8 Thursday. Came home with John after noon. Ike Woodruff Called. Also *Lewis*

9 Friday Cloudy and cool. High wind north & dusty. Went to town. Official count of election returns which gave me 20 plurality my opponent congratulated me and gave up the contest, while I received the congratulations of my friends. A victory of which I am *proud.* John went to town. George Came home with me. Home at dark

10 Saturday. Pretty cold day. Co Alliance. Came home with John. Borrowed from Charles T. Pierce \$150.00 One hundred and fifty Dollars.

11 Sunday Pretty good day. School Mother & Bro. Came this evening George went to town with him. John went to Kansas City to day. to attend veterinary college

12 Monday. Cloudy and Dusty Wash day. Went to town with Jim Shafer. Came home with Goble. Bad Mean Day.

13 Tuesday. Bad Mean day. Went to Rice. George Husked corn. Went to Aurora in the evening. Had a big blowout. Made a little speech. Home at midnight. Paid for 1 case of Beer for the Boys, \$3.50 Jim Shafer Returned Our cider Mill. finished digging Our potatoes.

14 Wednesday. Clear & cool George Snavelly Husked corn H. W. Bolen Called this morning. High wind & Dusty. George Snavelly finished husking corn. Paid Cash \$1.00 he owed George Young 50¢, Which he paid.

15 Thursday. Warm & Pleasant. Went to F. A. Thompson's in forenoon. John Kellenbarger & wife Made cider and were here for Dinner. Jo LeClare here for Dinner. Sold him 6 Head of cattle for \$45.00 Cash down. Fine day. Cloud[y], Hazy and warm. Wind changed to north west Middle of after noon. F. A. Thompson & Alva Wilkins Called in the evening. Wind Howling at 7:30 P. M. fearful Dusty and Disagreeable. Threatening Storm.

16 Friday. Clear & cool. Wind North west. Went to town after Dinner. Home 6:30 P. M. George Came home and John Maddox Came with him.

17 Saturday. Cloudy & cool. Dusty and disagreeable. Goble & family Called this after noon. Also Mrs W H Bolen. John Swanson Called and looked at a span of Horses & Harness. Sold him Eli & Dudley for \$65.00 and harness for \$10.00 on One Year's time at 10 Per cent⁵⁹

19 Monday. Clear & cold. High wind South. Went to town with Goble. Mrs Kellenbarger & Daughter Mrs Slater Called and visited us to day. L. D. Lewis Called this evening and wanted to Rent our farm.

20 Tuesday. Cloudy & Pleasant. Wash day. Lady Snavelly Called. Turned our hogs out. Abel Ledoux Called to Rent our farm. Wind changed to north west & North east and Dust came with the change. Cooler in evening.

21 Wednesday. Pretty Good Day. Went to town with F. A. Thompson. Home 5:15 P. M. Filed my Bond for Probate Judge. C. C. Stoner & J. T. Henderson Signed my bond. Had Dinner with Dr McCasey.

22 Thursday. Cloudy & High wind north west. John W Swanson Called and took Eli & Dudley Sold them one years time at 10 Per cent Also Harness. Horses & Harness \$75.00 A. S. Herington signed his note for security. May went to church with Clithro.

23 Friday Pretty decent day. Mother and I went to town, looked at several Houses but none suited. Home 4:40 P. M. Drove Fan and Mell.

24 Saturday. Fine day. warm and pleasant. Grave yard meeting. W. H. Bolen elected. G. L. Reeves Treasure[r]. J. T. Henderson Sec. The old [man] Sick last night and to day. Rheumatism being the cause. W. A. Pierce & A. D. Goble Called this

59. Young disposed of most of his stock and farm equipment preparatory to moving to Concordia to take office as probate judge.

morning. Signed Johns note to C. T. Pierce for one hundred and fifty Dollars, at 10 per cent interest from Date Nov. 10, 1894
Note Due Nov. 10, 1895

25 Sunday. fine warm day. George did not come home to day. Dull and lonesome.

26 Monday. Cloudy & pleasant. went to town with Oats 59 Bus [@] $27¢ = \$15.95$ Paid Cobb & Lamb 3.75 for George Settled in full with Dis school No 76 Owed the Dis \$4.79 Paid in full. J. T. Henderson W. H. Bolen & W. A. Pierce Called in the evening, Representing the School District No 76

27 Tuesday. Cloudy & cool. wind North east Went to town with Oats 2 loads. I had 62.20 Bus. Jim Shafer 52.24 lbs Total 115.10 at $27¢ = \$31.15$ Dinner &c. 75¢ Paid Jim Shafer for Hauling Oats \$1.25 Mrs Shafer Visited Mrs Young all day Jim stop[p]ed on his way home and had Supper School Mother went to Gobles this evening

28 Wednesday. Cloudy & fearful cold. High wind South east. Went to town. Had dinner with Dr McCasey. George came home with me.

29 Thursday. Cloudy & pleasant. Mother Mable Freddie and the old Man had Dinner with W H Bolens family. We met there Gobles family, Hendersons family and Sam Ball. Ellegant Dinner and a nice Social time. George went to town, Clyde to foot fool Ball. Kit Goble Staid all night Also Earnest Maddox.

30 Friday. Cloudy Misty Rained a little. Wash day. Bad Disagreeable day. A. D. Goble, Vigil Feife & wife Called.

December, 1894

1 Saturday. Cloudy and frosty. George took load [of] Oats to town. A. D. Goble Called

2 Sunday. Mother & I went to Thompsons. Cloudy & cold wind north. School Mother Came this evening.

3 Monday. Pretty good day. Isaac Wilson Called.

4 Tuesday. Good day. Wash day wind South west. Henry Snavelly and Tom Travis Called. Fine weather for the Season. G. I. Clithro Called this eve.

5 Wednesday. Good day. Went to Aurora in forenoon. and Rice after noon. Bought Beef of Ike Woodruffs Sent John fifty \$50.00 Dollars Paid Lawrence township 14.10

6 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. High wind South Mother & I went to town. Bought suit of clothes \$16.50 under suit \$2.50 White shirt \$1.25 Total \$2.25 [?] Fearful Dusty. went with

Dr to R. Coughlins. Filed my Expense Statement \$30.75 Home 6 P. M

7 Friday Pretty decent. went to town with Isaac Woodruff. Mrs Woodruff visited with us to day. Mrs Young on the lift. George Came home this evening Our School Mother went home this evening. Tried hard to find a house in town to day, but failed. went to Hendersons in the evening and Settled with the township, and turned over the town Treasure[r']s Book and gave my check for \$43.81

8 Saturday. Cloudy & cool. High wind North west. Dusty. Dud [Dug?] Thompson & son Called and looked at our Shoats, Wilkins & wife hauled cobbs. Big Surprise to us in the evening Our friends Came in on us in such numbers that we were Swamped for room and a place to put our friends. Grand royal good time all around. Such Kindness and good will Shown us will long be remembered. Good friends we appreciate you[r] good will toward us.

10 Monday. Cloudy & misty. Went to town after Dinner with Old Man Spargur. Rained a little, and Snowed about an inch during the night. Took the Red Cross Degree in the commandry. Staid all night with Fred Grimwald.

11 Tuesday. And misty Disagreeable. Came from town with Old Man Spargur. Home 1 P. M. Snow about all gone this eve. Muddy. Bad Disagreeable day.

12 Cloudy and frosty. Sold chickens in Aurora. \$9.28 cash. Dug Thompson Called for his hogs and I refused to let him have them because he failed to come to time. Churned. G. I. Clithroe Called and had Supper with us. Delightful evening. Clithroe visited our school mother.

13 Thursday. Fine bright clear day. Light wind west. Wash day. Jo Goodreau and his Son in law called to rent our farm.

14 Friday Cloudy & high wind south. Big Blow out at Georg[e] Reeves. It being her 40th Birth day. She was taken completely by Surprise. About 45 ate Dinner there, besides the Kids. Pleasant time all around. School Mother went home this evening with Old Fan and the Cart.

15 Saturday. Cloudy. Misty Rained Muddy Disagreeable. George went to Rice for our mail. Wilkins brought a load of cobs. I started to town but came back. Rained. Fedore Leoffler Called and Paid \$10.00 on his account. (note)

16 Sunday. Bright and clear. Pleasant. George went to Mad-dox. School mother came here.

17 Monday. Fine day. Butchered 3 Hogs. A. D. Goble and Mollie helped us. Mollie Goble & Mabel went to church School Mother went away this evening with Clithroe.

18 Tuesday. Cloudy & Pleasant. Went to town. Mother & Mollie Goble washed and made soap

19 Wednesday. Fine day. Salted our meat. Went to Aurora after noon. Paid my dues to K. P. \$1.25 in full to April 1st 1895.

20 Thursday. Cloudy & fearful wind south. Dusty. The old Man's *Birth Day* 52 years old. Big blow out at Fred Thompson's it being his 58 mile stone in the battle of life. *Good orderly crowd.*

21 Friday Pretty good day. went to town after noon. Attended Lodge. Staid all night with Dr McCasey.

22 Saturday. Fine day. Mother and Fred Came to town with Henderson. Sold Old Man Newingham 40 bushels of oats. Paid cash on oats \$5.00 to be delivered in the Spring. George went to Clyde. School Mother Came home with George.

23 Sunday. School mother went to town with Clithro Kids went to church also the old Lady.

24 Monday. Cloudy and cold. George and I went to town. Sold Turkeys & chickens. I staid in town F Sawdy came, and went to Soonover George met us there.

25 Christmas. Prof Sawdy with us. Roast turkey for Dinner.

26 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold. High wind north west. Wash day. Alva Wilkins & wife visited us to day. Sold him old Mell for \$20.00 Dave \$20.00 Wagon \$20.00 1 cultivator \$5.00 1 Har-row \$5.00 60 Bushels of corn at 45¢ Per Bus. = \$27.00 Total \$97.00 and lister for 8.00 providing lister wheels is returned home from Price's. \$35.00 of the above to go on taking Care of our stuff at \$15.00 per month. Grand Pap Groves Called. Sawdy & George went to Dug Thompsons after noon. W H Bolen & wife Called this morning. Cold this evening.

27 Thursday. Clear & cold 2 Degrees below zero wind north. Prof Sawdy still with us.

28 Friday. Clear & cold. Mother & I went to town after noon. Staid all night with Dr. McCasey. Mother & I was at Masonic Supper. George went to Aurora in forenoon.

29 Saturday. Home 3 P. M Mr Sawdy Still here. J. T. Henderson Called in the evening. Wilkins & wife *called.*

30 Sunday Clear & cool. wind north John Kellenbarger, wife,

and Gib Slater & wife here for dinner. George took Prof Sawdy to Ames. Charley Pierce was here for dinner. Suffered terribly with rheumatism in my arms & shoulders. This Rheumatism is killing me.

31 Monday. Clear & cool. Wash day. Suffered awfully with rehumatis[m] in my Arms and Shoulders. Dam the rheumatism. Mother & I went to Bolens in the evening. I am full of rheumatism, this evening and all day.

January, 1895

1st Day New Year. Tuesday. Clear & cool. went to town and came home mad. Cannot move before Monday. Tramp Called for dinner. More repub prosperity. A. N. Wilkins Hauled wood & cobs. Sold 4 pig[s] for 5 Dollars.

2 Wednesday. Clear & cool. Went to town. Was examined for Pension. Saw Dr John McCasey, Frank Ellison of Topeka. Cuss the rheumatism.

3 Thursday. Cloudy & cold High wind north. Snowed a little. went to town with Henderson. Home 1 P. M. George helped Henderson put down his pump, after Dinner.

4 Friday. Cloudy & cold wind South E. Blustery. old man Abiel & Benoni Ledoux Called. Sold them Sousie cow for \$26.50 on one Year's time at 8 Per cent. Cold & disagreeable.

5 Saturday. Cloudy misty snowy, and cold. George and Elmer Henderson took load [of] hay to Concordia. I & Fred took wood & chickens. Bad day. fearful rheumatic pain last night in my *arms*.

6 Sunday. Fine day. Clear & warm. May & Earnest Maddox called. Ira Pierce called. Detrixhe's Kids & Kit Goble were here for dinner. Rheumatism is killing me. Fearful Pain in my left arm & shoulder. Everything tore up and packed & ready to move tomorrow.

7 Monday. Cloudy and cool. Moved my household good[s] to Concordia. Bad cold high windy day. W H Bolen J. T. Henderson, John Kellenbarger and Jim Shafer also A D Goble helped us. Terrible Job never want to Move again. A. N. Wilkins moved on to our farm.

8 Tuesday. This is my first day in the city. A N Wilkins and wife called and paid me by check. 74.00 for 1 Team 1 wagon 1 cultivator 1 Harrow 1 Lister and 4 Pigs.

Recent Additions To the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

We also receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1945, to September 30, 1946. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

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- , *The Presbyterian Church in Kansas*. N. p. [1946]. 4p.
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- PATTERSON, HELEN M., *Writing and Selling Special Feature Articles.* New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945. 578p.

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- PORTER, KENNETH WIGGINS, *No Rain From These Clouds; Poems, 1927-1945*. New York, The John Day Company [c1946]. 145p.
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- ROBB, T. BRUCE, *Small Manufacturers in the Wichita Area*. Lawrence, The University of Kansas Press, 1945. 30p. (*Kansas Studies in Business*, No. 21.)
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Bypaths of Kansas History

THE CHICAGO COMPANY AND THE MISSOURI RIVER PIRATES

From the *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, August 27, 1857.

We have seen many accounts of the treatment a company of emigrants from Chicago, while coming up the Missouri on their way to the territory last season [1856], received from Border Ruffians, but none so minute and accurate as the statement contained in a letter which was written by a member of the company to a friend, shortly after the occurrence, but which has never yet appeared in print. We have been permitted to make a few extracts:—

"We left Chicago about the middle of June, *via*. the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis R. R. We numbered sixty-eight, including the women and children, and were composed of farmers, mechanics of every branch, three printers, one minister, one doctor and two lawyers. Our intention was to form a Free State colony, and were provided with all the necessaries for establishing one. Upon our arrival at Alton we proceeded to the steamer 'Star of the West,' which had been engaged for the conveyance of our company up the river, and which we supposed had been chartered exclusively for us and other companies that were to join us there. By some misunderstanding that arrangement had failed to be effected, and we found ourselves on board of a Border Ruffian steamer, manned by a Border Ruffian crew from captain to deck-hands, and in company with a large number of Border Ruffian passengers. Everything passed off very quietly and nothing occurred worthy of note until we reached Waverly, a little town about twenty-five miles below Lexington, where a passenger, whom we subsequently learned was employed on the river as a spy, got ashore, with a horse which accompanied him, and put off at lightning speed for Lexington, to warn the citizens of our coming. In his haste to get there, it is said he rode his horse to death. At about eleven o'clock Sunday night, the boat was moored to the levee in Lexington by two iron cables and all the ropes belonging to the boat. The night being dark as pitch, it was impossible to distinguish anything on shore, and we were unable to conjecture what was to be our fortune. Presently a few men made their appearance and came on board, followed by others in small squads, until before we were hardly aware of it, the cabin was filled from one end to the other by many of the best citizens of Lexington, intermingled by a number of the most fiendish devils the infernal regions ever puked up. Just at this juncture the steamer lit a torch-light, which enabled us plainly to distinguish on shore a large body of men, armed with U. S. muskets, and three brass field pieces loaded with grape-shot. A committee of seven were appointed by the Lexington people, to hold council with the officers of our company, and the captain of the steamer, after seeking them, took them, with the Lexington committee, into his cabin. The committee demanded, in the name of the people they represented, the arms furnished us by the Chicago people.— Have them they would, if it cost the entire annihilation of our party. If we quietly submitted to their demand, they would only take the arms furnished us by

the Chicago people; would give us receipt for the same and return them when the difficulties in Kansas were settled, and would leave our private arms unmolested.— Our officers at first stoutly refused to surrender a thing, and not until two hours had been consumed in parleying, with the advice, influence and persuasion of the steamer captain, did our company consent to yield to their demand. Many, rather than deliver up their guns, threw them overboard. Fifty-eight condemned United States breach-loading Hall's rifles, and seventy-five pounds of powder was the extent of their robbery. They assured us that we would meet with no more obstacles on our journey, and would be able to enter the territory now without any difficulty whatever; whereas, if we had went in the condition we were previous to their interference, we would have conflicted with U. S. troops! Feeling grateful for the interest manifested in our behalf (!) at six o'clock next morning we were pursuing our journey again. At three o'clock the following morning we reached Kansas City, where a detachment of Col. Buford's company, (South Carolina desperadoes) numbering upwards of fifty, armed with muskets, revolvers, and bowie knives with others, came on board. Matters passed on quietly until we had proceeded eight or ten miles further, when it was discovered that among the large augmentation to the passengers at the latter city, were Generals *Atchison*, *Stringfellow*, *Jones*, and other notorious ruffian leaders, who sought an interview with our president and told him that our company *should not land in Kansas Territory; that if we attempted it, every soul of us would be slaughtered!* They advised us to return on the first steamer, and should be allowed to do so without molestation. As we had only about a dozen rifles, with as many revolvers, we saw that we were virtually prisoners, and deemed their advice wholesome, under the circumstances. A meeting of the company was held and we decided to go back. Upon arriving at Leavenworth City, we found another large armed body of ruffians waiting for us, drawn up in military order on the river banks. Arrangements were made for us to remain on board the boat and return on the same, and after searching all of our baggage, stripping us of our remaining arms, tents, camp-equipment and agricultural implements, a guard of thirty-five picked men, under command of Capt. *Clarkson*, was stationed over us to prevent our escaping. Weston, six miles further up the river, was the termination of the steamer's route. Here we remained for two days, in close confinement on the boat—being allowed to go ashore only in small parties at a time, well guarded.

"At Lexington, on our return, we were informed that a party of Massachusetts men were expected there that day, on the steamer 'Sultan,' and that they intended to meet them with a reception similar to the one we were honored with. When about fifty miles below, we met the said steamer, and word having been given our captain that we wished to communicate with them, a signal was made and the boats stopped. Our president endeavored to board their steamer, but was prevented by one of Col. *Buford's* lieutenants, who was stationed on the taff-rail of our boat, and who drew a revolver on him and ordered him back. Not relishing this assumed authority, our president was about to level him to the deck—he had no arms—when the lieutenant fired. A friend of the lieutenant—Capt. *Bell*, of South Carolina—knocked the revolver aside, and the ball just barely missed your humble correspondent, who

was standing near. Had it not been for this timely interference, our president would soon have been weltering in his gore. We accomplished part of our object, however, for during this affray one of our men jumped at least a distance of fifteen feet and got aboard of the steamer, and soon informed the company of the hard usage we had been subjected to, of the fate that was lying in store for them, and entreated them to go back with us. They desired to do so, and while making preparations for their conveyance down, Col. Buford and several of his confederates surrounded the captain of the steamer and advised him not to take them aboard. Our boat shoved off, and the sons of the old Bay State were left to experience the same scenes we had just passed through. They numbered forty men, each armed with a revolver and bowie knife, and had also sixty Sharp's rifles—all of which were lost. They were headed by the celebrated Dr. CUTTER, Physiologist.

"We arrived at the mouth of the Missouri, five miles below Alton, on Sunday morning, 29th ult., where we landed in the woods. The captain was afraid to risk his boat at Alton."

KIDDING THE POLITICIANS IN 1860

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, August 10, 1860.

[Communicated.]

To the Hon. Mayor and Board of Councilmen of Leavenworth City, K. T.

The undersigned citizens being rather "hard up," pecuniarily, and our business not proving *remunerative*, and some having no *visible* means of support, would respectfully petition your honorable body to render us such assistance as may be in your power; we therefore pray you to pass the following acts, viz:

1. Create as many new offices, and retain as many of the old ones, as the tax payers of the city *can bear*.

2. Let out some new jobs of public improvement in the city, or else "grub" and "liquor" will fail some of us.

3. Pass an act creating a Lunatic Asylum, a Blind Asylum, a Poor House, a City Jail, and a Hospital, and give the *exclusive charge* to some *scientific association*; and although the city may not need such institutions *now*, yet our Societies will be *vastly benefited* thereby, even if they receive no salary at the present; yet if you will give us the charge for not *less than five years*, you can thereby *bolster up* our *waning business*.

4. Appoint — our agent to tell the members of your honorable body *how to vote* in all cases where our interests may be involved.

5. Pass an act requiring all candidates for city officers to treat at least *twenty-five times a day* to "lager beer" and "whiskey," for at least *one month* before the election.

6. Be careful to pass us no *new law*, nor to *enforce any old law* that may drive a large portion of voters from our ticket, and especially for one month before the election; let the people go unbridled.

7. Pass an act giving a reward for the *scalps* of all *flies, bed bugs, mosquitoes, &c.*, that may be "found at large;" but we pray you not to repeal such act, nor to cease from enforcing it for at least *one week*.

8. Pass a law requiring each "unfortunate Cyprian" to pay at least five dollars per month to the Police for the *privileges* of the city *unrestrained*, and in case of failure to pay them, they are to be arrested "for keeping houses of ill fame," and fined for the benefit of the City Government; provided that no charge shall be made against the city for *advertising* them or their houses; and provided further that no police court *loafer* shall ever enter one of their houses in the *day time*.

9. Pass a law giving our chartered company the *exclusive right* to build railroads through all the streets of the city corporation, and although we will not be able to build such roads for years, yet unless you pass such law some *outside railroad company* may want to enter the city with their road, and thereby the loss to our pockets may be very great.

10. Pass a law giving all chartered railroad companies the privilege of taxing the city not less, in any case, than \$150,000 for each company, and fine any citizen who is "old foggy" enough to object to any tax, whether for a road in Japan or New Mexico.

11. Be sure and fill all the offices at least twelve months ahead, and make places for *all good hard working members of our party*, who are now out of employment, and must have a *support* in reward for *party services*.

12. Whatever you do, remember to pass no law that will *injure our party* with any of the voters of the city, whether it is for the interest of the city as a whole or not.

13. As the salary of some of our city officers is *small* and not sufficient for services rendered, therefore we ask you to give such *extra allowance*—especially to our *very polite* and *efficient* City Clerk. We pray you to give him *five hundred dollars* for *extra services*, as his family has to be supported, and he is, besides, such a *faithful* member of our party, *that he will vote for a man nominated by the party, even if convicted of sheep stealing, before he would vote for the best man in the other party*—therefore he deserves *extra* compensation.

14. Be careful not to forget the *lining to your own pockets*, in the way of *extra services*, and do not fail to *tax up the costs of "City Dads"* well.

SAM SNIGGLEFRITZ,
BILL PARTYMAN,
JOE BARTER,

BOB TRUEMAN,
JIM REDEYE,
DENNIS MCCARTY,
and 160 others.

THE ORIGINAL "LADIES' DAY"?

From the *Florence Herald*, June 28, 1879.

Every Tuesday and Friday the ladies of Florence can have the use of the bath rooms, at the Clifton Hotel. This will be a luxury which will be duly appreciated. All other days the bath rooms are open to gentlemen.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Early-day recollections of Mrs. Alma Fisher, New Cambria, concerning Salina and the Gypsum valley were printed in the *Salina Journal*, April 13, 1946. She said Mount Tabor school received its name at the suggestion of J. M. Preshaw, a Methodist minister residing at Solomon, who conducted a Sunday school in the community. Mrs. Fisher settled with her family in the Gypsum valley in 1878.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the selection of the townsite of Great Bend in 1871 was noted in the *Great Bend Tribune*, June 6, 1946. D. Bryan Baker claimed to have built the first permanent, private residence there in March, 1871, with lumber obtained in Russell, the article said. The nearest railroad switch at the time the house was built was Fossil Siding on the Kansas Pacific. A letter from J. C. Ruppenthal, of Russell, published in the *Tribune*, June 13, 1946, pointed out that the Kansas Pacific established a water station at Fossil creek when the railroad was built through Russell county in 1867, and that a siding known as Fossil Siding was soon constructed, but that the town of Russell had not been laid out at the time Baker erected his residence at Great Bend.

The Indian raid on the Benjamin White homestead in Cloud county in 1868 was recalled in an article in the *Concordia Blade-Empire*, August 28, 1946. Mr. White was killed in the attack, his son, Martin A., was wounded by a spear, and a daughter, Sarah, kidnaped. Government troops obtained release of the daughter months later. Another daughter, now Mrs. E. M. French of Jamestown, found safety by hiding with her mother in underbrush. Martin A. White, a resident of Oregon, observed his ninety-first birthday, August 15, the *Blade-Empire* said. A drawing of the pioneer home of Benjamin White appeared with the article. Early-day views of the Renard Bro's. store and the fire laddies posed in front of the Concordia city hall and fire department building were printed in the *Blade-Empire* August 29.

Dr. Edward Bumgardner discussed the battle of Hickory Point, fought 90 years ago in Jefferson county, in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, September 11, 1946. After a skirmish, Proslavery men at Hickory Point surrendered to Free-Staters led by Col. James A. Harvey, but the Free-State men were themselves taken prisoners by United States dragoons about five miles from the scene of the en-

counter and placed in custody of the territorial militia. Housed under wretched conditions at LeCompton, the imprisoned Free-Staters issued an appeal to the "American People." Dr. Bumgardner names in his article the prisoners who signed the appeal.

The sixtieth anniversary of the Excelsior Lutheran church, located eight miles east of Wilson, was observed on October 6, 1946. A history of the church, by Mrs. Charles Bowers, was printed in part in the *Ellsworth Messenger*, October 10. The anniversary of the church also was noted in the *Wilson World* of October 9.

A page history of the Ford Congregational Church, founded in the middle 1880's, was featured in the *Bucklin Banner*, October 10, 1946.

A brief history of *The Phillips County Review*, of Phillipsburg, was printed by the *Review* October 10, 1946, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding. McDill Boyd is the present editor.

The question of how Stillwater, Okla., received its name is discussed by Dr. B. B. Chapman in the *Stillwater (Okla.) News-Press*, October 13, 1946. Stillwater creek was known by that name before a town called "Stillwater" was located on its banks, he said. The Stillwater Town Company was organized at Winfield and chartered May 14, 1889, according to Dr. Chapman.

Early-day reminiscences written by the late Rev. Isaac Mooney, pioneer Congregational minister, were published in the *Western Butler County Times*, Towanda, October 17 and November 14, 1946. The Rev. Mr. Mooney platted the Towanda townsite in June, 1870, and while a member of the legislature in the early 1870's opposed attempts to divide Butler county. Experiences of pioneer life in 1868, written by the late A. W. Stearns, also were printed in the November 14 issue.

A brief historical sketch of Grand Centre post office, established in the early 1870's on Wolf creek in Russell county near the Osborne county line, was published in the *Osborne Farmer-Journal*, October 31, 1946. This post office subsequently was moved to Osborne county. In 1879 a survey was made at Grand Centre and a town laid out, but the plat was never recorded, according to the *Farmer-Journal*.

Incidents in the early life of Navarre and Belle Springs communities were described at a meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society at Navarre, October 18, 1946. Navarre was named by Peter Wrightsman, A. L. Shank recalled. The Rev. Homer Engle related

the legend of how Belle Springs community obtained its name. Papers presented at the meeting were reviewed briefly in the *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle*, November 7, 1946.

Recollections of E. P. Rochester concerning the abandoned town of Pence City, which was situated 20 miles northwest of Scott City, were printed in the *Scott City News-Chronicle*, November 21, 1946. Rochester, now a resident of San Antonio, Tex., moved with his parents to Pence City from Ashland, Ill., in November, 1886, and learned to set type on the Pence *Phonograph*. The Pence Town Company was chartered October 12, 1886.

The importance of the part this state has played for the past sixty years in the production of salt is reviewed in an article entitled "Kansas and the Nation's Salt," by Robert Taft, professor of chemistry, University of Kansas, in the December, 1946, issue of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence. Among other articles of interest to Kansans were: "A Survey of the Fossil Vertebrates of Kansas; The Reptiles," by H. H. Lane, and "The Number of Exceptional Children in Kansas," by Homer B. Reed.

A brief history of Russell Lodge No. 177, A. F. & A. M., of Russell, was printed in the *Kansas Masonic Digest*, Wichita, in January, 1947. The dispensation for the lodge was granted on November 26, 1877.

Feature articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* were: A review of the work of the University of Kansas Press, January 6, 1947; "Reorganization of Kansas State Guard Recalls Military History in the State," by Cecil Howes, January 15; a description of the governor's mansion, by Robert H. Clark, February 9; some notes on the writings of the late Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, author of *In His Steps*, February 19, and "Kansas Marriage Laws Have Followed Liberal Tradition of Pioneer Days," February 24, by Cecil Howes; "Allen Crafton Has Directed One Hundred Plays at K. U.," by James Gunn, March 9. Articles in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* included: "Meaning of 'Topeka' Stirs Lively Arguments in the Kansas Capital," December 28, 1946, and a story on how handwritten records of William Clark were acquired by the Kansas State Historical Society, March 17, 1947, both by Cecil Howes.

A list of state representatives from Ellsworth county for the period of 1868-1947, which shows the sessions each served in the legislature,

was printed in the *Wilson World*, January 8, 1947. The list was compiled by J. C. Ruppenthal of Russell.

The history of the Dutch windmill in Wamego city park was reviewed in articles in *The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, and *Northwestern Miller*, Minneapolis, Minn., which were republished in the *Wamego Times*, January 9, 1947. The article in *The Christian Science Monitor* was also reprinted in the *Wamego Reporter*, January 9. According to these articles, the red sandstone mill was built in 1879 by a Dutch immigrant named Schonhoff, on a farm 12 miles from Wamego. In 1925, after the mill had been idle for several years, it was donated by its owners, Mr. and Mrs. Ed Regnier, to Wamego. The mill was taken down, moved to the Wamego park and restored to its original design stone by stone, as a community project. The mill has been equipped with vanes and the roof recently restored through a donation by Robert Cox of Tulsa, a former Wamego resident. "The First County Seat of Pottawatomie County, Kansas" is the title of an article reviewing the early history of St. George, by William E. Smith of Wamego, which was printed in the *Wamego Reporter*, January 2, 1947. Notes from the article were also published in the *St. Marys Star*, January 9.

The *Norcatour Dispatch* began January 9, 1947, a weekly historical feature describing early-day life of the community. Articles on Norcatour churches included St. Marks Lutheran church and the Christian church, February 20, and the Methodist church, February 27. The settlement of the old Rockwell City neighborhood in northwestern Norton county was discussed March 6 and 13, and the Devizes community, March 20.

Sketches of the governors of Kansas and the terms they served, by Milton Tabor, were printed in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 12, 1947. There were ten territorial governors and Frank Carlson is the thirtieth chief executive since statehood. An article by Virg Hill on the monument near Lebanon in Smith county marking the geographic center of the United States, appeared in the *Daily Capital*, December 29, 1946. The geodetic center of the United States is on Meade's ranch in Osborne county.

A tribute to the late Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, author of *In His Steps*, by Dr. Charles W. Helsley, pastor of Central Congregational Church, Topeka, was published in the *Topeka State Journal*, January 13, 1947. Dr. Sheldon, first pastor of Central Congregational Church, read *In His Steps* chapter by chapter from the pulpit in the

earlier days of his pastorate. The *Christian Herald* in 1943 estimated 30,000,000 copies of *In His Steps* had been sold, Dr. Helsley said. A stone from Central Congregational Church in memory of Dr. Sheldon rests in the Walk of Fame at Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.

The history of the Riley County Historical Association was sketched in an article in the *Manhattan Tribune-News*, January 16, 1947. Incorporation papers for the organization were filed with the secretary of state October 12, 1914. Clyde K. Rodkey is president of the association.

Publication of a weekly column, "Notes From the Early Days," sponsored by the Protection Historical Society, was started in the *Protection Post*, January 24, 1947. The material, compiled under the direction of Miss Ida Bare, historian of the society, includes reminiscences of Omer Gaylord regarding Comanche City, an abandoned town in southwestern Comanche county, printed February 14, and early incidents in that county contained in a letter of James W. Dappert, civil engineer, written in 1942 at Taylorville, Ill., together with December, 1885, entries from Dappert's day book which he kept the greater part of his life. Publication of the Dappert material began in the February 21 issue. Dappert describes his activities in supervising the excavation for a portion of the Kansas state house in 1884, surveying College Heights addition to Topeka, and work on the government resurvey of portions of Harper, Barber and Kingman counties. He also made a survey of Plano and preëmption claims in the vicinity of Evansville, an abandoned town in Rumsey township, Comanche county.

Mrs. Ella Boyd Wormwood described her sod house on Boyd's ranch in Pawnee county in the 1870's in a narrative told to Miss Lois Victor of the Pawnee County Historical Society and printed in the Larned *Chronoscope*, and *The Tiller and Toiler*, February 6, 1947. Mrs. Wormwood also described the activities of her brother, Al Boyd, a member of the first board of county commissioners, who freighted to Fort Larned in 1866 and built a toll bridge for freighters at the Pawnee river ford at the foot of Jenkins' hill which became known as Boyd's crossing. A description of pioneer life, compiled from articles by the late Kelso G. Clark and his published interviews, appeared in *The Tiller and Toiler*, November 28, 1946. Reminiscences and experiences of other early settlers were published in that newspaper as follows: Mrs. J. B. Brown, November 7, 1946;

Mrs. Ava Gleason, January 16, 1947, and Mrs. Cora B. Nelson, February 20. The reminiscences of Mrs. Brown also appeared in the *Chronoscope* November 14, 1946.

Community accomplishments in the past year were reviewed in an extensively illustrated "Achievement Edition" of 72 pages issued by the Winfield *Daily Courier*, February 10, 1947. Articles outlined bridge construction, agricultural production, 4-H club accomplishments, industrial and residential construction, aviation development, improvements at St. John's College, growth of Southwestern College and the improvement program at the state training school. There were brief historical sketches of Winfield churches, St. Mary's and William Newton Memorial hospitals, and Lutheran Children's Home. The issue included aerial views of Winfield and Strother field, and photographs of the colleges.

The history of Turner Hall, Marysville landmark, was sketched by Gordon S. Hohn in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, February 20, 1947. The structure, dedicated on April 25, 1881, was the scene of most major political and social gatherings at Marysville in the 1880's and 1890's, and many dramatic companies appeared there. An addition to the building was erected in 1889 at a cost of \$12,000. Turner Hall was deeded to the city of Marysville in 1941. A picture of the building, as it appeared after a portion of the west wall collapsed March 24, 1947, following high winds, was printed in the *Marysville Advocate*, March 27.

Circumstances surrounding the invitation to Woodrow Wilson to address the Washington Day dinner of Kansas Democrats February 22, 1912, and his appearance in Topeka on that date, were described by Burt E. Brown in *The Kansas Democrat*, Topeka, February 21, 1947. Brown, president of the Washington Day club in 1912, said the Topeka address was Wilson's first speech of the campaign.

The Caldwell *Messenger* is observing the sixtieth anniversary of its founding. It was established as the *Caldwell News* on March 23, 1887, by Robert T. Simons. On January 13, 1928, the *News* was purchased by Harold A. Hammond, editor and publisher of the *Caldwell Daily Messenger*, and merged with the *Messenger* under the name of the *Caldwell Daily Messenger* and *Caldwell News*. The name of the publication was shortened to *Caldwell Messenger* in September, 1942. Doyle Stiles has been editor and publisher of the *Messenger* since December 14, 1942. The *Daily Messenger* was founded on February 28, 1920, by A. H. Hammond and Harold A. Hammond.

Kansas Historical Notes

Edwin J. Lewis was elected president of the Lyon county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society at a meeting in Emporia in February, 1947, the first since December, 1943. Other officers are: James E. Putnam, first vice-president; Mrs. John A. Roberts, second vice-president; J. S. Langley, treasurer; E. C. Ryan, secretary; Fanny Randolph Vickery, Lulu Purdy Gilson, Lucina Jones, and Mrs. Robert L. Jones, historians. George R. R. Pflaum was the retiring president.

Harold P. Trusler was elected president of the William Allen White Memorial Foundation at a meeting of the trustees in Emporia, February 13, 1947. Other officers are Dr. Frank Foncannon, vice-president; Mrs. Leonard G. Fort, secretary; M. A. Limbocker, treasurer, and F. B. Ross, resident agent. Executive committeemen are: Mrs. E. K. Lord, Elmer Siedhoff, Ora Rindom, C. J. McCoy and Calvin Lambert. Trustees reelected at the annual meeting of the foundation on February 10 were: Jason Austin, Dr. Foncannon, A. H. Gufler, Mr. Rindom, Mr. Siedhoff, Mrs. Fort and Mr. Trusler. A bronze bust of William Allen White, completed by Jo Davidson, New York sculptor, was officially unveiled in New York March 20. Until a site has been selected in Emporia the bust will be displayed in a New York art gallery.

The Crawford County Historical Society is compiling data on the oldest houses in the county. The oldest yet located is at Cato, in the northwestern part of Lincoln township, it was reported at a meeting of the society held in Pittsburg, February 17, 1947. The house was built in 1866 by Peter Smith, according to Mrs. Alice Gregg of McCune. Cato was among the post offices established in Kansas territory, according to a list published in the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, November 27, 1858, and the post office was included in the *United States Official Register* for 1861. T. Hagerman was listed as postmaster in 1858. Cato was a part of Bourbon county until the creation of Crawford county in 1867.

Miss Stella B. Haines was reelected president of the Augusta Historical Society at the annual meeting held February 17, 1947, at the home of Miss May Clark, former treasurer of the society. Other officers are: Mrs. J. E. Mahannah, vice-president; Mrs. A. V. Small, secretary, and Mrs. H. H. Bornholdt, treasurer. Miss

Haines reported the completion of the cataloguing of the museum with the assistance of Miss Ruth Brown.

Donald M. Johnson of the Missouri State Museum at Jefferson City was the principal speaker at the annual dinner of the Wichita Public Historical Museum held March 27, 1947. Trustees elected for three-year terms were: R. T. Aitchison, Omrah Aley, Carl Bitting, John P. Davidson, Bertha V. Gardner, Col. Harrie S. Mueller and Robert M. Sutton. Trustees elected to fill vacancies were Mrs. Charles H. Armstrong, Eldon Means, Allen W. Hinkel and Ross Little. Officers of the museum society were elected by the trustees on April 3 as follows: O. A. Boyle, president; Dr. Jesse Clyde Fisher, first vice-president; Carl Bitting, second vice-president; H. D. Lester, secretary, and J. P. Davidson, treasurer. Colonel Mueller is the retiring president.

The Kansas History Teachers Association held its annual meeting in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, April 11 and 12, 1947. The session also was attended by members of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies. Featured speakers and their subjects were: Frank E. Melvin, University of Kansas, "Adventuring With the Time Machine"; Karl A. Svenson, Washburn University, "The Civic Education Workshop Project"; Julia Emery, Wichita High School East, "The Development of a Psychology and Human Relation Course"; Mildred Cunningham, Parsons Junior College, "A United Nations Project for Eleventh Grade History"; A. B. Sageser, Kansas State College, Manhattan, "International Student Organization"; Claude E. Arnett, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, "International Relations Project"; Mildred Throne, Washburn University, "Opening the Iowa Frontier"; Norbert R. Mahnken, Bethany College, "Ogallala, Gateway to the Northern Range"; Roy Durham, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, "Sociology and Citizenship," and Francis R. Flournoy, College of Emporia, "Social Darwinism in British Theories of International Relations, 1850-1900." Officers elected were: Verne S. Sweedlun, Kansas State College, president; John W. Heaton, Baker University, vice-president; Della A. Warden, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, secretary-treasurer. The executive board includes the above officers and Julia Emery, Wichita; Elizabeth Cochran, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; Francis R. Flournoy, Emporia, and Rob Roy MacGregor, Southwestern College, the retiring president.

Officers of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies were re-elected at a meeting held at Wichita February 1 in conjunction with the council of administration of the Kansas State Teachers Association. They are: Julia Emery, Wichita, president; C. P. Neis, Field Kindley Memorial High School, Coffeyville, vice-president; Robena Pringle, Topeka High School, secretary-treasurer. Board members are: Ruth E. Litchen, University of Kansas; A. E. Maag, Arkansas City High School; Della A. Warden, Emporia, and Rena Gilson, Russell High School.

The Kansas Society of the United States Daughters of 1812 is participating in the national society's grave locations project for the soldiers of the War of 1812. Mrs. Lloyd J. Robertson is state chairman and may be addressed at Box 146, Phillipsburg. Persons can assist in this project by sending to Mrs. Robertson the names of Soldiers of 1812 graves, the address of the burial place, and the cemetery or location of the grave, together with the names of living descendants or individuals able to supply information concerning the deceased. The object of the project is to see that all such graves are found, recorded, properly marked and honored on Memorial day. The National Society United States Daughters of 1812 has blanks available on which data on soldier graves may be entered.

Wagons Southwest—Story of Old Trail To Santa Fe is the title of a 50-page booklet by Stanley Vestal, published in 1946 by the American Pioneer Trails Association. Dr. Howard R. Driggs, president of the association, conferred with W. L. Young of Council Grove, chairman of the Kansas chapter of the association, Dr. George W. Davis of Ottawa, and George A. Root of Topeka, concerning the program of the organization, at a meeting at the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, March 15, 1947. Dr. Driggs outlined a four-year program designed to commemorate various phases of American pioneering. The 1947 program is dedicated to the pioneers of irrigation and colonization, 1948 to pioneers of the cattle industry, 1949 to the Forty-niners, pioneers of the mining industry, and 1950, pioneers of transportation and communication.

Kansas Government is the title of a 126-page booklet by Albert B. Martin and L. W. Chesney, published by the League of Kansas Municipalities, Topeka, in August, 1946. The volume, designed as a short course on state and local government, is divided into the following main sections: "The Foundation of Kansas Government,"

"The Organization of Kansas State Government," "The Organization of Kansas Local Government," and "The Operations of Kansas Government."

Hutchinson, a Prairie City in Kansas is the title of an interesting and attractively printed 166-page book published by Willard Welsh in 1946, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the city's founding. The volume traces the development of the city's government and industries, includes stories of the lives of several pioneers, sketches the city's newspaper history and describes other community activities.

A 20-page illustrated booklet describing the commercial facilities, industrial resources and educational institutions of Hays was recently issued by the Hays Chamber of Commerce.

Report by the Supreme Commander To the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Operations in Europe of the Allied Expeditionary Force June 6, 1944, to May 8, 1945, has been printed and may be obtained from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington. This report by General Eisenhower comprises 123 pages. Subjects of sections of the report include: "The Assault," "Establishment of the Lodgement Area," "The Breakthrough," "The Battle of the Falaise-Argentan Pocket," "The Advance From the Seine to the German Border," "The Ardennes Counteroffensive," "Crossing the Rhine," "The Envelopment of the Ruhr and the Junction With the Russians," and "The Surrender." This report by the supreme commander was also printed in 1946 by the Arco Publishing Company, New York, under the title, *Eisenhower's Own Story of the War*.

Wings Over Kansas is the title of an attractive 48-page booklet published by the Kansas commission on aviation education for the state department of public instruction in 1946. It outlines a program of aviation education for Kansas schools from the elementary school level to universities and colleges. Evan E. Evans, superintendent of the Winfield schools, is chairman of the Kansas commission.

A large oil painting of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, painted from one of the general's favorite photographs, has been presented to the Eisenhower Memorial Foundation by Mrs. Lloyd Mayswinkle of Kansas City, president of the American Legion Auxiliary of Kansas, who purchased the painting in Indianapolis. It is the work of R. B. Lee, an Indianapolis portrait artist.

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THE COVER

The Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad bridge across
the Kansas river eighty years ago. It was the first north-south
railroad bridge across the Kaw (*see* pp. 225, 232). The engine,
"Ottawa," was the first locomotive on this road.

The view is from a stereoscopic photograph by Alexander Gard-
ner of Washington, D. C.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XV

August, 1947

Number 3

The Building of the First Kansas Railroad South of the Kaw River

HAROLD J. HENDERSON

THE first railroad locomotive to operate in Kansas south of the Kaw river made its initial crossing of that river at Lawrence, November 1, 1867.¹ Nosing of this "iron horse" across the Kaw was a part of the first all-out construction race in the state to cash in on county bonds before a fixed deadline.² In order to qualify for the bonds it was necessary for the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston railroad to lay track from Lawrence to Ottawa by January 1, 1868.³ The race developed into a "photo finish," in which a prominent Kansas newspaper editor made a "last-minute" dash to Illinois to rush delivery of passenger cars for the railroad's opening.⁴ The track was completed a day before the deadline.⁵

The locomotive making this pioneer southward Kaw river crossing was the "Ottawa."⁶ It belonged to the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston, which, by destroying its bridge behind it⁷ became probably the only Kansas railroad that ever operated the greater

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1. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, November 2, 1867.

2. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1867.

3. Douglas county, board of commissioners, "Commissioners' Record," v. "B," pp. 133, 134; "Special Election" notice in *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, January 17, 1867; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, February 8, 1867; "Special Election" notice in *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, September 4, 1867, election returns in September 26, 1867, issue.

4. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, December 29, 1867.

5. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1868.

6. *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, November 7, 14, 1867.

7. *Ibid.*, January 15, 18, 1868. Four western tributaries to the north and west of the Kaw had been bridged on the north side of the stream but a railroad span had never been erected across the Kansas river except from west to east after the river's bend northward near the state line to empty into the Missouri river.

The Blue river was spanned near Manhattan in the summer of 1866 and the first passenger train crossed on August 20.—*Manhattan Independent*, August 25, 1866; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, August 29, 1866. The Republican river was bridged near its mouth in the fall of the same year and the first passenger train entered Junction City, November 10.—*Junction City Union*, October 27, November 17, 1866. The Union Pacific also bridged the Solomon in March, 1867, and the Saline river on April 16, 1867.—*Ibid.*, March 30, April 20, 1867.

Driving of piles for the Union Pacific's first Kaw river bridge and trestle near the state line was in progress by October, 1863, and regular service across the Kansas river east to the state line was established in December, 1864.—*Wyandotte Commercial Gazette*, October 10, 1863, December 31, 1864, see advertisements of train schedules; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, December 23, 1864.

part of two years minus a terminus with a direct rail or ferry connection.

The Union Pacific railway, Eastern division, had been constructed westward from Wyandotte and placed in operation to Lawrence⁸ before the Missouri Pacific, its original connecting line, had a continuous track in operation from St. Louis to Kansas City⁹ but the Union Pacific from the first had connecting carriers in the form of Missouri river boats.¹⁰

County bonds had been issued for three other Kansas railroad projects prior to the launching of the construction race by the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston¹¹ but the ballot proposals presented to and adopted by the voters either did not specify a time limit in which the railroads should be completed or the bonds by agreement were issued in advance of construction on a "pay-as-you-go" basis as the lines were built.¹²

Leavenworth county had issued bonds to the Missouri River railroad¹³ (the Missouri Pacific's present Kansas City-Leavenworth line) prior to its construction¹⁴ and to the Union Pacific railway, Eastern division, for the building of a branch from Leavenworth to Lawrence with an agreement that the bonds be delivered pro rata as the work progressed.¹⁵ Johnson county also voted bonds to aid in the construction of the Kansas and Neosho Valley railroad¹⁶ (the Frisco's present line from Kansas City to Olathe)¹⁷ but issued a portion of the bonds more than a year before the line was placed

8. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1864.

9. The Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Journal of Commerce*, September 21, 1865; Wyandotte *Commercial Gazette*, September 23, 30, 1865; R. E. Riegel, "The Missouri Pacific Railroad To 1879," in *The Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 18, pp. 11, 13.

10. Wyandotte *Commercial Gazette*, February 13, 1864. The first load of iron and first locomotive for the Union Pacific, Eastern division, were delivered by the steamboat *Majors* at the Wyandotte levee in February, 1864. A mention of the *Majors* is made in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 306.

11. State of Kansas, auditor of state, *First Biennial Report* (Topeka, 1878), table of "Municipal Debt," Johnson and Leavenworth counties, pp. 234-236.

12. "Election Notice" in *Leavenworth Daily Bulletin*, January 3, 23, 1865, "Election Proclamation," June 27, 1865; *Leavenworth Daily Times*, June 13, 1865; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 1, 1865; *Olathe Mirror*, September 5, 1867.

13. *Leavenworth Daily Bulletin*, August 23, 1865.

14. State of Kansas, board of railroad commissioners, *First Annual Report* (Topeka, 1884), p. 152.

15. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, June 13, 1865; *Leavenworth Daily Bulletin*, June 15, 1865; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, December 13, 1865. The \$250,000 in stock of the Union Pacific Railroad Company acquired by Leavenworth county in issuing bonds for the construction of the Leavenworth branch, was voted to the Kansas Central railroad under proposals approved at a special election on August 15, 1871.—*Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, July 15, August 18, 1871. Construction of the main line of the Union Pacific up the Kaw valley had been financed with the aid of United States bonds and land grants. This was also true in the building of the first 100 miles of the Central Branch Union Pacific railroad (Missouri Pacific).—State of Kansas, board of railroad commissioners, *First Annual Report*, pp. 85, 171.

16. Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Journal of Commerce*, November 9, 1865.

17. State of Kansas, board of railroad commissioners, *First Annual Report*, pp. 143, 149, *Sixth Annual Report*, p. 300; H. V. & H. W. Poor, *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States, 1902* (New York, 1902), pp. 751, 752.

in operation.¹⁸ Moreover, the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston was running trains eleven months before the Kansas and Neosho Valley was maintaining service to Olathe.¹⁹

Prior problems of financing and bridging formed much of the background for this railroad construction race drama which opened its final act on November 1, 1867. The act began with the pioneer locomotive operation south of the Kaw when the "Ottawa" made its crossing at Lawrence after a temporary "low" bridge had been constructed. The span was erected solely for the purpose of getting the motive power, a small quantity of rolling stock and needed iron across the river²⁰ for laying a 27-mile track to Ottawa.²¹

Less than four months after Sen. James H. Lane assumed the presidency of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston railroad in 1865,²² Douglas county had voted on September 12, 1865, \$250,000 in bonds for a subscription to the stock of the line to be made upon its completion in that county.²³ Franklin county had followed suit a little more than a year later by voting \$125,000 in bonds for the projected line commonly known as "The Galveston Railroad," to be issued upon its construction in that county.²⁴

Within the week that Douglas county voted the railroad bonds, Senator Lane had presented to the directors of the Galveston road a resolution providing:

That the executive committee be instructed to ascertain the cost of a double track railroad bridge across the Kansas river, including in connection therewith a double passenger track; and said committee is further authorized to receive special city, county and individual subscriptions of stock, payable as said work progresses, for the construction of the same. And when said committee shall obtain a sufficient amount of said stock, they are hereby empowered to contract for building said bridge, to be completed at as early a day as practicable. . . .²⁵

After Senator Lane started on a speaking tour of the South in the interests of the Galveston road with appearances planned at

18. Olathe *Mirror*, September 5, October 24, 1867, Johnson county commissioners' proceedings; State of Kansas, auditor of state, *First Biennial Report*, p. 234; *Weekly Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., December 19, 1868.

19. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, December 31, 1867; *Weekly Journal of Commerce*, December 19, 1868. Construction trains were operating from Kansas City to Olathe as early as December 3, 1868, but regular service was not inaugurated until December 11, 1868.—*Ibid.*, December 12, 19, 1868.

20. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, October 15, November 2, 1867.

21. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1869; *Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad Time Table* No. 2 [1875], p. 2.

22. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, June 7, 1865.

23. Douglas county, board of commissioners, "Commissioners' Record," v. "B," pp. 40, 41; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 17, September 20, 1865.

24. *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, October 11, November 15, 1864.

25. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, September 17, 1865.

Memphis, Vicksburg and New Orleans, the railroad advertised for bids "for putting in the foundations and building the abutments and piers for the railroad bridge of this company across the river at Lawrence," with January 1, 1866, the final day for filing proposals. The *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, said that "We are informed upon reliable authority . . . that it is the confident expectation of the company to have their bridge across the river at this point completed by spring."²⁶

But ample credit and cash for railroad building was not forthcoming alone from promised county stock subscriptions to be paid for by a future bond issue. Outside capital was needed. The Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston railroad had received a land grant but title could not be obtained to any of the lands until a portion of the line was in operation.²⁷ The bond proposition of Douglas county was termed impracticable for railroad financing by James F. Joy,²⁸ president of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy and Michigan Central railroads, and a director of the New York Central,²⁹ because the proceeds could not be used until certain work was already completed. He said upon a visit to Lawrence that the amount of Douglas county bonds voted could finance the grading and tying of the road to the Franklin county line, and then rail and iron could otherwise be obtained.

Newspaper discussion and statements of public men pointed to the probability that not more than 50 percent of the par value of the county bonds could be realized by their sale. This brought the suggestion that the state endorse such county bonds or lend its credit to the counties, the state itself being barred by constitutional provisions from issuing bonds for internal improvements. State bonds were credited with bringing near par.³⁰

Financial arrangements had not been completed for the construction of the Lawrence bridge nor for the complete building of the road when Senator Lane was reelected president of the railroad in June, 1866, and one of his "last works" before his death July 11 was to send Maj. B. S. Henning east to interest capitalists in the construction of the Galveston road.³¹

These efforts finally resulted in definitely enlisting the interest of

26. *Ibid.*, October 10, November 17, 29, 1865.

27. *State of Kansas, Session Laws of 1864*, ch. 79.

28. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 19, 1866.

29. Henry V. Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1869-70* (New York, 1869), pp. 21, 64, 206. Joy was also chairman of the board of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad.—*Ibid.*, p. 414.

30. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 19, October 30, November 14, 1866.

31. *Ibid.*, June 5, July 12, 25, 1866.

Chicago and New York capitalists in the projected road early in November, 1866.³² Then followed a series of moves that led to the establishment of a deadline for the completion of the road to Ottawa, if county stock subscriptions were to be made through issuance of bonds, and the ensuing construction race.

With the naming of these capitalists to the board of directors on November 29, the new company officials and board headed by William Sturges of Chicago and including Cyrus H. McCormick of New York, asked Douglas county to increase its proposed stock subscription in the Galveston road to \$300,000, declaring that "in most of the projected enterprises in this region, the people offer, by way of contribution, what is equivalent to one-third of the cost of construction."³³

Douglas county voters on February 6, 1867, authorized an increase in the proposed stock subscription by the county to \$300,000 and the issuance of a like amount of bonds to the company, contingent upon the railroad completing and equipping 24 miles of track by January 1, 1868.³⁴

In February announcement was made that iron for the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston had been purchased in Liverpool, England, and late in the following month the contract had been awarded for the masonry for the first ten miles of line. By April 28 it was reported 30 hands were cutting ties for the railroad.³⁵

Heavy rains in late May forced contractors to reduce grading forces in the Wakarusa bottom but it was estimated that a fourth of the grading had been completed to the Franklin county line and considerable stone had been delivered for the 140-foot Wakarusa river bridge. Two miles had been graded on the south side of the Wakarusa river along Coal creek and portions of the grading done along the route towards Baldwin City. "Beyond the Santa Fe Ridge, hands are strung all along the line of the work," the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, said.³⁶

By mid-July, with less than six months to meet the deadline, Col. J. B. Vliet, engineer of the Galveston road, estimated that the road-bed for the first 24 miles of the line could be made ready for the rails in three weeks. And following a directors' meeting in Chicago, Major Henning was sent east to purchase locomotives and rolling

32. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1866.

33. *Ibid.*, December 1, 22, 1866, January 19, 1867.

34. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, January 17, 1867, "Special Election Notice"; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, February 8, 1867.

35. *Ibid.*, February 22, March 26, April 28, 1867.

36. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1867.

stock for the road, but no construction had been undertaken to bridge the Kaw.³⁷

Meanwhile, Franklin county was asked to increase its proposed bond issue from \$125,000 to \$200,000 to aid in completing the railroad through to Ottawa.³⁸ On August 14 it was reported that grading would be completed in ten days to the Douglas-Franklin county line but there remained a mile and a half gap immediately south of Lawrence.³⁹

By September factors in the construction race for the county bonds were taking more definite shape.

Early in the year Douglas county had increased the amount of its proposed bond issue to aid in financing the road and stipulated the January 1 deadline for completion.⁴⁰ Original provisions in 1866 for Franklin county's proposed \$125,000 bond issue specified no time limit for completing the road but provided for delivery of half of the issue upon completion of the line to Ottawa.⁴¹

On September 2, 1867, the Franklin county commissioners issued a notice for an election September 23 on the proposal to authorize an increase in the contemplated issue to \$200,000, but with the added provision that the road be completed to Ottawa by January or no bonds would be issued at all.⁴² When the voters approved this proposal later the same month, the Galveston railroad thus faced the task of completing the road to Ottawa by New Year's or not only lose the original \$125,000 in bonds promised by Franklin county but an additional \$75,000 as well.⁴³

Early in September, it was reported that iron for the road had been shipped and two locomotives purchased. By September 11 three carloads of the rail and track material had passed through Quincy, Ill. Three days later seven carloads had reached Leavenworth.⁴⁴

Still no means had been procured for crossing railroad equipment over the Kaw and less than four months remained to bridge the river, finish construction of the roadbed and lay the rail to Ottawa by January 1.

37. *Ibid.*, July 17, 21, 1867.

38. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1867; *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, August 15, 1867.

39. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 14, 1867.

40. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, January 17, 1867; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, February 8, 1867.

41. *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, October 11, 1866.

42. *Ibid.*, September 4, 1867.

43. *Ibid.*, September 4, 26, 1867.

44. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, September 7, 11, 14, 1867.

So vital had become the problem that the laying of temporary rails over the Babcock wagon bridge was considered as a means of moving locomotives to the south bank of the Kaw.⁴⁵

Neither Quincy⁴⁶ nor Leavenworth had railroad bridges⁴⁷ but the rolling stock brought west via these points could be transferred across the Mississippi and Missouri rivers by boats. Leavenworth had a ferry connection with a Missouri railroad at East Leavenworth.⁴⁸ But Lawrence at this period did not have a ferry, the Babcock wagon bridge having been constructed in 1863 and the steam ferry was not placed in service until 1871.⁴⁹

"Three car loads of iron have arrived at the Lawrence depot for the Galveston railroad. It will keep coming," was the announcement of the *Kansas Daily Tribune* of Lawrence, October 1.

Building of a railroad bridge across the Kansas river was discussed by the directors of the company at a meeting at Lawrence October 9 and a resolution was passed instructing the chief engineer to make plans and estimates for the bridge. The *Tribune* in reporting the directors' meeting said:

There is no shadow of doubt of the speedy completion of the road to Ottawa. The iron horse can be watered in the Marais des Cygnes on New Year's day, and our Franklin county friends can get up a grand celebration and barbecue, if they want to.

Three engines have been purchased, and one of them has already reached the Missouri opposite Leavenworth, and was to have crossed the Missouri river yesterday. The construction cars are on the way, a few car loads of the iron is at the Lawrence depot, a hundred car loads are near Leavenworth—we don't know on which side of the river. . . .⁵⁰

Plans for a temporary bridge were revealed on October 15 after the engineers of the road had made a survey the previous day. A Lawrence newspaper gave the following description of the plans for the structure, just above the Babcock wagon bridge, and its connecting track:

The road starts from the U. P. road, west of the bridge, and will thus cross this temporary bridge, and the engine and construction train pass under the

45. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1867.

46. The cornerstone of the Quincy bridge was laid on September 25, 1867, and it was completed the following year.—Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, October 1, 1867; Murray, Williamson & Phelps, pub., *The History of Adams County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), pp. 490, 491.

47. Work on the first Leavenworth railroad bridge approaches was started July 20, 1869, and on the superstructure in July, 1871. Opening of the bridge was celebrated on April 18, 1872, after an official test earlier that month.—Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, April 18, 1872.

48. See schedule of Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad boat under "Railroad Time Table" in Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 15, 1867. The Missouri Valley railroad was running trains to East Leavenworth.—*Ibid.*, September 1, 1867.

49. George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2, p. 285.

50. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, October 10, 1867.

Babcock bridge (so called), and thence along the river bank till near Sparr's old brick yard, and around the hill by Speer's place. The bridge is to be a temporary structure, the stringers set on cribs loaded with stone, and is to be used only for the transportation of the iron, cars, etc., used in the construction of the road. The water is only about two feet deep and the bridge will be easily made. The hands will be at work on the grading to-day.⁵¹

The next day grading on the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston was started on the north side of the Kansas river for the track to be laid from the Union Pacific to the temporary bridge, and cribs for the temporary structure were being placed in the water. The last crib was constructed on October 23 and the first track-laying on the road started the preceding day. Stringers on the bridge had been placed within ten days after work on the span started and track-laying across the bridge was completed on October 29. The *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, reported:

The track-laying across the railroad bridge was completed yesterday. Construction cars are run across by hand with iron, but the locomotive will not be placed on it for a day or two. The ties are also in place for a considerable distance on the south side of the river.⁵²

The locomotive "Ottawa" made its first crossing over the temporary bridge on November 1 with five cars of iron, shortly after its arrival from Leavenworth the same afternoon. However, preliminary to the actual crossing of the locomotive the strength of the bridge was tested by a truck loaded with iron which was detached from the train at the upper part of the grade on the north side of the river and "coasted" across the bridge. The crossing of the locomotive was made a celebration and after the initial trip onlookers accepted an invitation to ride across the river and back.⁵³

The *Kansas Daily Tribune* of November 2 gave this description of the eventful crossing:

The first raid on Southern Kansas by a railroad train was made yesterday. A locomotive was brought down from Leavenworth, and in the afternoon, with five carloads of iron, successfully crossed the Kaw, being the first train that ever made its appearance on Southern Kansas soil. A truck loaded with iron was first detached at the upper part of the grade on the north side of the river, to make the experiment trip to test the bridge, its own weight giving it sufficient impetus to carry it across in beautiful style, checking its speed only when the brakes were applied. The locomotive with its five cars and a large number of persons aboard then backed slowly across, and on reaching the south side awoke the echos of Southern Kansas with its shrill whistle of triumph. The bridge bore the immense weight without giving in the least.

51. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1867.

52. *Ibid.*, October 17, 20, 23, 24, 30, 1867.

53. *Ibid.*, November 2, 1867; *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, November 7, 1867.

It appears to be very solid and strong, capable of sustaining any weight that may be placed on it. A large crowd gathered on the wagon bridge and river banks to witness the crossing.

After the unloading of the iron was completed, Col. Vliet invited the citizens to a ride across the river and back. Several hundred persons availed themselves of the privilege, and the cars were speedily filled to their utmost capacity with gentlemen, ladies and children. The train ran over to the junction and back, the passengers enjoying it hugely, judging from the general hilarity. As soon as the train arrived back at the starting point, Mayor Kimball proposed three cheers for the Galveston railroad, which were given with will, followed by three more for Mr. Sturges, three for Maj. Henning and three for Col. Vliet.

The "Ottawa," described as a "grim old engine," in the succeeding days made daily and sometimes hourly trips across the cribbed bridge over the Kansas river, moving track materials.⁵⁴

By the middle of November less than four miles of rail had been laid from the Lawrence terminus. Timbers and iron for a Howe truss pattern bridge made in Chicago for erection over the Wakarusa river, had arrived at Lawrence, and a second locomotive, the "Osage," had crossed the Missouri river at Leavenworth. "The iron is laid a little past the summit between Lawrence and the Wakarusa, and the engine is on the down grade for the Wakarusa bottom," the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, reported.⁵⁵

Track laying was completed to the Wakarusa river on November 20 but the bridge was not finished for nearly a week and the construction locomotive did not cross until November 27. Meanwhile, the second locomotive was placed on the job.⁵⁶

With five weeks remaining in which to qualify for the county bonds, the Galveston railroad management faced the task of building four more iron bridges and laying more than twenty miles of rail. John Speer, editor of the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, although admitting in an editorial he had feared the deadline might not be met, now expressed confidence that the company would qualify for the bonds, in these words:

Everything on the road is now in fine working order. We have really been despondent about this work, not that we had any doubt but the work would be done, but a fear that it might fail to be accomplished within the time required by the counties of Douglas and Franklin, and thus retard the work beyond Ottawa. We now have no fears. Nothing but an interposition of Providence could prevent it.⁵⁷

54. Lawrence State Journal, reprinted in Western Home Journal, Ottawa, November 14, 1867.

55. Kansas Daily Tribune, Lawrence, November 14, 22, 1867.

56. Ibid., November 20, 22, 26, 1867.

57. Ibid., November 26, December 22, 1867.

Meanwhile, the "Osage" had the honor of making the first excursion trip down the line, transporting a number of Lawrence citizens and visitors as guests of Mr. Sturges, president of the road, down toward Coal creek where "two thousand feet of railroad was laid down" in an afternoon and the force "so completely organized that at least a mile a day can be laid."⁵⁸

By December 8 the completed track was nearing the half-way mark and it was stated that track laying "is now on the up-grade for the Santa Fe ridge, and will reach Baldwin City this week" [by December 14].⁵⁹ Laying of the rails to Baldwin would mark the completion of more than 14 miles of the 27-mile stretch to Ottawa, after more than 40 days had elapsed following placing of the first construction locomotive in service. It was estimated that laying 16 miles of rail in 20 working days was the task in order to reach the Ottawa townsite by January 1.⁶⁰

However, newspapers indicated a stepping up of rail laying. The *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, said: "Two sets of hands—one for day, and the other for night work—are laying down over a mile of track a day." "Mr. Cooley, the new superintendent of track-laying," the *Tribune* said, "is a go-ahead man, as we were convinced by seeing his hands at work an hour or two yesterday [December 7]. On Friday [December 6] he laid a mile and two hundred feet, and Saturday a mile and three hundred and fifty feet."⁶¹

Work was progressing when the locomotive, "Osage," ran off the track on December 16 while "shoving a heavy train up to the summit of the Santa Fe ridge, near Baldwin." The pilot was badly smashed and other damage sustained. This made it necessary to operate the engine, "Ottawa," night and day to carry material as one engine was "scarcely sufficient, even when constantly employed." Nevertheless, the rail was laid to Prairie City, south of Baldwin, by December 17, and to the county line by December 20, and the grading to Ottawa had been done a few days previously.⁶²

The construction score then read: Approximate mileage completed, 18; approximately 9 miles to go in 11 days.⁶³ Bridges had been completed except one over "what is known as Ottawa Jones's creek."

58. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1867.

59. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1867.

60. *Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad Time Table No. 2* [1875], p. 2; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, November 2, December 8, 1867.

61. *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, December 12, 1867; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, December 8, 1867.

62. *Ibid.*, December 17, 18, 21, 1867.

63. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1867; March 18, 1869.

Cooley was quoted as promising to put down a mile and a half of track a day "from there on." The disabled engine was repaired just before Christmas and on that day it was announced track laying was completed to West Ottawa creek, within five miles of Ottawa, and the intention to run the construction train into Ottawa, Saturday, December 28, was made known.⁶⁴

Delivery of two passenger cars and a baggage car to the Galveston road had been expected in the first week in December but as the month was running out they failed to appear. The cars had been manufactured at Trenton, N. J. The approaching deadline for the completion of the road prompted John Speer, editor of the *Kansas Daily Tribune* and a director of the road, to make a last-minute trip to Quincy, Ill., to hurry the delivery of the coaches and the baggage car. On December 29, he reported they had been brought west as far as Leavenworth and would be run to Lawrence the following day by special train so as to be available for use on the first train into Ottawa on December 31.⁶⁵

On the morning of the last day of the year—hours before the county bond deadline—there remained a third of a mile of rail to be laid to the Ottawa townsite. That morning the construction train with one passenger car and three carloads of iron ran to the end of the track. Included in its passengers were George P. Lee, an officer of the Chicago & Northwestern railway and a director of the Galveston road, and Daniel L. Wells, the principal contractor for building the railway from Lawrence to Ottawa. Mr. Sturges, president of the road, had gone down on an engine at daylight to the end of the rail.⁶⁶

The construction train literally laid its own track into Ottawa to beat the January 1 deadline. A newspaper account said:

The train took down iron for eighteen hundred and sixty feet of road, and from the moment that the cars were stopped till it was unloaded, laid down, well spiked, and the train run over it, was precisely an hour, and this done with a single set of track-layers—being a third of a mile and one hundred feet. . . .

This visit of passengers was unheralded to the citizens of Ottawa; but it was known that the iron rails would cross the city line and the cars enter the city that day, and four or five hundred of the citizens of the town and surrounding country were there to witness that interesting event, and when the passenger cars arrived, loud cheers for Ottawa and Lawrence and the Gal-

64. *Ibid.*, December 22, 24, 25, 1867.

65. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, December 28, 1867; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, November 26, December 29, 1867.

66. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1868.

veston Railroad Company greeted the visitors. The crowd principally stayed on the ground till the track was down, and as the rails crossed the city line, the welkin rang with cheers, and soon the passenger car entered the city of Ottawa. Mr. Sturges remained only till he saw the cars within the city limits, and then took an engine and left to make connection with the Union Pacific road, and made the trip to Lawrence in one hour and twelve minutes. His departure was very generally regretted, but important business compelled him to return east.⁶⁷

Daily passenger and freight service to Ottawa was inaugurated on New Year's and by January 4 the Galveston road was carrying the mail, the stages having been taken off north of Ottawa.⁶⁸

Razing of the temporary Kansas river bridge was under way two weeks later. Workers began removing rails from the bridge and by January 16 the sills and timbers were being taken up and loaded on cars for removal down the road. The whole structure was being razed to the level of the ice, leaving only a small part of it in the river, and the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston was left without a direct railroad or boat connection.⁶⁹

No further construction work of consequence toward extending the road south of Ottawa was attempted before the summer of 1869 and it was not until August of that year that material was received for the erection of a bridge over the Marais des Cygnes at Ottawa.⁷⁰ However, the business on the railroad even without direct connection was shown to be on the increase. In February an addition had been built to the Ottawa depot and the trains were crowded with both passengers and freight.⁷¹

May saw negotiations opened by other railroad owners to acquire an interest in the Galveston road and James F. Joy, railroad capitalist and then director of the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf railroad (Frisco), was exhibiting interest in the road.⁷²

The Galveston road had acquired another engine, "The Comet," to pull the passenger train. By June 11 the locomotive was standing across the Kansas river in North Lawrence. But not having had a bridge at Lawrence for nearly a year and a half, the railroad faced the problem of getting it across. A temporary track on blocks or the procurement of a boat from Kansas City to ferry it over were two means considered. Purchase of material for two

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*, January 1, 3, 4, 1868.

69. *Ibid.*, January 15, 17, 1868.

70. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1869.

71. *Ibid.*, February 12, 13, 1869.

72. *Ibid.*, May 12-14, 1869; *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1869-70*, p. 407.

flatboats apparently was the answer of the engineer, Col. J. B. Vliet. While in Chicago for a directors' meeting he obtained the material for the construction of two boats that were also to be used in crossing cars and materials over the river for the contemplated extension of the railroad. It was announced that each boat would have a capacity of two loaded cars. Construction of the railroad ferry was under way in July.⁷³

On June 30 Joy and five Boston capitalists—Nathaniel Thayer, Sidney Bartlett, H. H. Hunnewell, W. F. Weld and John A. Burnham—associated with him as directors of the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf railroad assumed control of the Galveston road and Joy became its president. In July grading was in progress south of Ottawa to the Pottawatomie river.⁷⁴

Leavenworth was displaying an interest in obtaining a direct connection with the southern Kansas trade and the Leavenworth board of trade requested the county commissioners of Leavenworth to transfer the county's Kansas Pacific railroad stock to aid in the construction of the Lawrence bridge.⁷⁵

In September the railroad ferry on the Kaw was taking cars and iron over the river and "working well." The *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, reported "some ten or twelve car-loads [of iron] were brought across the river on the ferry boat yesterday [October 1], and a portion run down to Ottawa. The cars and all are crossed, and after being unloaded the cars are recrossed and sent back. . . . The loaded cars are crossed with greatest dispatch."⁷⁶

However, the railroad soon showed a preference for a bridge, and construction of a temporary span was under way in October. It was nearly completed in early November, a large force of workmen and a pile driver having been employed for several days. A description of the road's second temporary Kansas river bridge was given by the *Kansas Daily Tribune*:

The bridge is located a short distance below the wagon bridge, and angles across the river to allow the cars to run alongside the high bank, on the south side. Five substantial log cribs, filled with stone, have been constructed on the south side, on a rock bottom, with the exception of the last, which rests on sand. For the rest of the way piles were driven into the sand to a depth of twelve feet, and standing high enough to give the bridge an

73. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, June 11, 26, July 22, 1869.

74. *Ibid.*, July 3, 18, 1869; *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1869-70*, p. 407.

75. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 25, 1869.

76. *Ibid.*, September 9, October 2, 1869.

altitude of eight feet above low-water mark. Dirt embankments are thrown up at each end to the water's edge. The work is of a very substantial character, and will doubtless serve the purpose until a permanent bridge can be erected. The cost will not exceed twelve or fifteen hundred dollars.

The old ferry boat, with the tracks built to accommodate it, together with attendant expenses cost the company in all about ten thousand dollars. Hence, there is no question as to the economy of a bridge, to say nothing of the increased facilities for crossing cars and materials.⁷⁷

By December another locomotive, the "Torrent," was received by the Galveston road from Detroit. In January, 1870, the motive power of the road had been increased to eight engines, with the recent arrival of four new locomotives from the Manchester works. Four of the engines were second-hand. Meanwhile, the track of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston had been laid two miles south of the Franklin-Anderson county line.⁷⁸

Joy soon expressed the hope that a permanent bridge could be constructed at Lawrence and on February 22 announced the bridge would be built at once. The span was not constructed immediately, but late in the summer of that year the road received a direct connection from another direction. The Kansas City and Santa Fe railroad was completed from Olathe to Ottawa on August 22, 1870, and use of the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf railroad tracks from Olathe to Kansas City gave the Galveston road a continuous rail connection to the Missouri river.⁷⁹

By the spring of 1871 the Galveston road was attempting to compete with the Kansas Pacific for freight and passengers to Kansas City over the longer route via Ottawa and Olathe by reducing rates and advertising that "passengers will please observe that by taking this route [via Ottawa and Olathe to Kansas City] they will not be obliged to cross the river at Lawrence."⁸⁰ However, the road had not given up the idea of a Lawrence bridge. In the 1871 annual report, the directors said:

In order to make connections with the Kansas Pacific Railroad, at Lawrence, thereby getting direct connections with Leavenworth, over the Leavenworth branch of that road, as well as to transact with convenience the business coming from or going to the main line of that road, it has become necessary that a bridge be constructed at Lawrence, across the Kansas river.⁸¹

In May, 1871, newspapers announced the Kansas Pacific and the

77. *Ibid.*, October 26, November 2, 1869.

78. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1869, January 1, 22, 1870.

79. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1870; *Report of the Directors of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad Company* (Chicago, 1871), pp. 19, 20.

80. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, April 27, May 18, 1871.

81. *Report of the Directors of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad Company* (1871), p. 21.

Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad Company had made a contract to build a railroad bridge across the Kansas river "cojointly."⁸²

By October of that year the boat upon which the pile driver was to be placed was in position on the south side of the river. After interruptions of winter, work was under way on the second span of the structure in January, 1872, and it was completed two months later.⁸³

In March, 1873, the dream of through service over the new Kansas river bridge to Leavenworth, the northern terminus of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston railroad under the terms of its 1864 amended charter, was realized. After extended negotiations it was announced that a contract had been signed between the Kansas Pacific and Galveston road to operate jointly through trains from Lawrence to Leavenworth and the first through train passed through Lawrence over the branch to Leavenworth the same month.⁸⁴

82. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, May 7, 1871.

83. *Ibid.*, September 28, 1871, January 9, 31, March 15, 17, 1872.

84. *Session Laws*, 1864, ch. 70; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, March 5, 11, 1873.

Following Pike's Expedition From the Smoky Hill to the Solomon

THEO. H. SCHEFFER

TO get us on this trail properly it seems necessary to state here that the purpose of this research and report is to interpret intimately the details of Zebulon M. Pike's journal and maps as fitting into the terrain he traversed, from the Smoky Hill crossing until he "passed" the Solomon river on his way to the Pawnee Indian village—his first destination. Our sources of published information have been largely two: *The Expedition of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, by Elliott Coues, and *Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal*, edited by Stephen H. Hart and Archer B. Hulbert.¹ The latter published documents, letters and maps of the expedition that had been taken from Pike by the Spanish authorities of the Southwest and had reposed in the archives at Mexico City for one hundred years where they were found in 1907-1908. Two years later they were restored to the United States, were lost again in War Department archives, and were rediscovered in 1927.²

These restored papers have very little to do, however, with the concern of our present research. First, because the precious journal had been saved from the Spanish seizure by one of Pike's soldiers who had secreted it in his clothing, at the leader's request. It appears that this soldier had been wine too generously by the ladies at the Mexican post, and in the hour of Spanish need could not be found; and apparently he was later overlooked.³ Also transcripts and sketches were saved by Lieut. J. B. Wilkinson, of the expedition, who had been dispatched to the East from the first camp on the Arkansas river.⁴ At any rate, Pike seems to have had plenty of material at hand for his own publication of his travels, in 1810, at least so far as the journey to the Arkansas was concerned.

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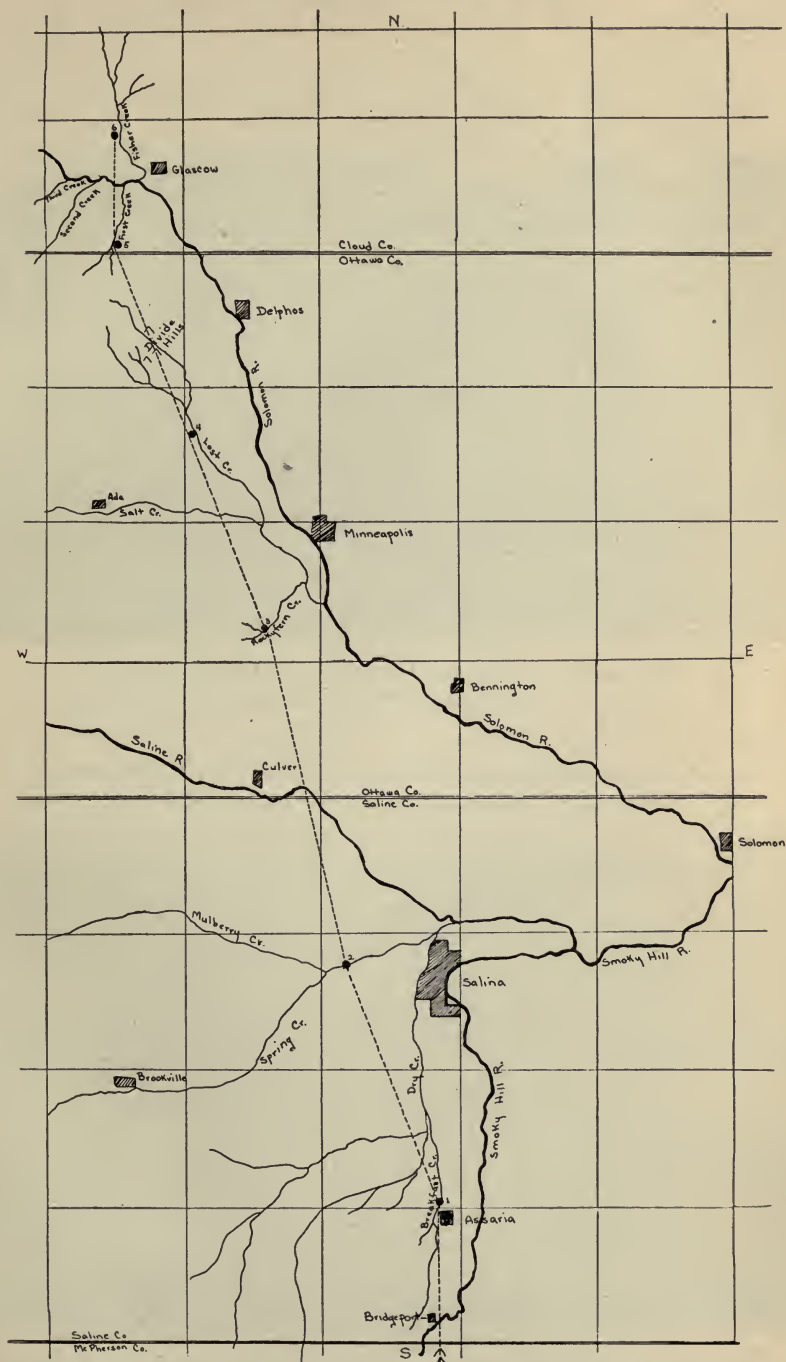
1. Elliott Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (New York, 1895). 3 vols.; Stephen Harding Hart and Archer Butler Hulbert, eds., *Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal* (Denver, 1932).

2. H. E. Bolton, "Material for Southwestern History in the Central Archives of Mexico," in *The American Historical Review*, v. 13, p. 523, and "Documents—Papers of Zebulon M. Pike, 1806-1807," in *ibid.*, pp. 798-800; Hart-Hulbert, *op. cit.*, pp. lii-lvii.

3. Zebulon Montgomery Pike, *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana, to the Sources of the Arkansas, Kans, La Platte, and Pierre Juan, Rivers* . . . (Philadelphia, 1810), appendix to Part III, pp. 58, 59.

4. *Ibid.*, appendix to Part II, pp. 50, 51.

MAP OF LT. ZEBULON M. PIKE'S TRAIL THROUGH PRESENT SALINE AND OTTAWA COUNTIES, 1806



Pike's route (shown by the broken line) is marked by the following major stops: (1) The halt for breakfast, September 17, 1806; (2) Mulberry creek camp, September 17-18; (3) Rockyfiern creek camp, September 18-21; (4) Lost creek camp, September 21-22; (5) First creek camp, September 22-23; (6) the morning's halt on Fisher creek, September 23.

VIEWS OF ONE OF PIKE'S PROBABLE CAMPSITES IN PRESENT OTTAWA COUNTY



SENTINEL ROCK AT ROCKYFERN CREEK, A BRANCH OF SALT CREEK
PIKE MADE A THREE-DAY CAMP HERE



ROCKYFERN CREEK AND VIEW FROM SENTINEL ROCK NORTHEAST THROUGH THE
NORTH ENTRANCE TO PAWNEE GAP

We have been over the ground covered by Pike on the Smoky-to-Solomon part of the journey many times through the years, and more recently in review, with the preparation of this report in mind. Well impressed, we are, with Pike's faithfulness to detail on a small-scale map, along the immediate course of his journey and in the range of his vision. He did not stop to explore the streams he "passed" (crossed by fording) on the mission to the Pawnees. And we are not misled by the cartographer's parlance of creeks that "fall" into a larger stream. Anyhow, these small prairie water courses commonly sneak into the larger outlets. It is true, though, that he sometimes sent the rivers on about their business where they should not go and did not go, as later exploration disclosed. The Saline and the Solomon rivers were both thus led astray into the Republican Fork, instead of the Smoky Hill Fork. And Salt creek, "Little Saline," was overestimated in the magnitude of its lower course.⁵

Our key to the jigsaw puzzle of the trail is found in Pike's own statement, letter to the Secretary of War, dated Pawnee Republic, October 1, 1806. He says, among other things: "From the Osage towns, I have taken the courses and distances, by the route we came, marking each river or rivulet we crossed, pointing out the dividing ridges, &c." ⁶ This, with the camp marks and the hatching lines for slopes, is our cue. With this understanding, we will proceed to our part of the trail: The year was 1806 and on September 16 we find Pike's party of some thirty whites and Indians⁷ camped in the hills east of present Lindsborg, on a branch of Gypsum creek, the third branch of this stream he had encountered. This branch is known locally as Stag creek.⁸ How he got there is not our concern, or rather not our problem. Coues and Hart-Hulbert disagree on this point and we cannot speak from first-hand knowledge of the terrain. Here is the journal entry for the next day's march:

17th September, Wednesday.—Marched early and struck the main south-east branch of the Kans river: at nine o'clock it appeared to be 25 or 30 yards wide, and is navigable in the flood seasons. We passed it six miles to a small branch to breakfast. Game getting scarce, our provision began to run low. Marched about two o'clock, and encamped at sun-down on a large branch. Killed one buffalo. Distance 21 miles.⁹

5. *Ibid.*, Plate I, "The First Part of Capt. Pike's Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana."

6. *Ibid.*, appendix to Part II, pp. 45, 46.

7. Hart-Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 72; Coues, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

9. Pike, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

The "main south-east branch of the Kans river" is the Smoky Hill. At the outset here we have disagreement of the commentators, Coues and Hart-Hulbert, as to where the party ate breakfast. Coues says that "'We passed it six miles to a small branch to breakfast' is a dubious phrase." He interprets it to mean that Pike's party breakfasted on a small dry branch just before crossing the Smoky.¹⁰ Hart-Hulbert says that "breakfast was eaten on Dry creek six miles beyond" the river.¹¹

Our interpretation is that the halt for breakfast was made as Hart-Hulbert states, five or six miles after crossing the river, with evidence to wit: (1) Pike says he "passed" the river to breakfast on the small branch, and that means *crossed* in his usual vernacular. And this sort of pre-prandial march was not an uncommon thing in the day's journey. (2) The small branch is there, within the gauged distance, shown on the north side of the river on Pike's map though obscured a little by the hatching that indicates adjacent higher ground.¹² This is a branch of Dry creek, the most easterly, running nearly northward and parallel to a line of the Union Pacific railway.¹³ If the Smoky crossing was at present Bridgeport, as seems the unanimous opinion of commentators, the halt for breakfast was on this branch perhaps a mile and a half above the present town of Assaria, about where U. S. Highway No. 81 adjusts itself to a surveyor's correction. (3) An angle in the line depicting Pike's route of travel, on his map, indicates that he set his course a little more to the northwest at this breakfast halt on the branch.¹⁴ It is not likely that such an abrupt compass change would be made while on the march. (4) The distance from the Smoky crossing to the evening camp was too great to have been covered in the march from 2 p. m. to "sun-down," about 6 p. m., thus near the equinox. May we designate this branch as Breakfast creek, since it does not appear to have any local name.

Now that breakfast is disposed of, we will proceed to the camp at sundown, which, according to mileage and position, must have been on Mulberry creek. Our contentious editors, Hart-Hulbert, say that it was *above* the junction with Spring creek,¹⁵ and Coues

10. Coues, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

11. Hart-Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

12. Pike, *op. cit.*, Plate I, "The First Part of Capt. Pike's Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana."

13. John P. Edwards, pub., *Edwards' Atlas of Saline Co. Kansas* (Philadelphia, Pa., and Quincy, Ill., 1884), pp. 5, 29, 45, 59.

14. Pike, *op. cit.*, Plate I.

15. Hart-Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

that it was *below*.¹⁶ After viewing the terrain recently, we conclude, with Coues, that the crossing was below the mouth of Spring creek; about half way between there and present Salina. For (1) to cross above the junction would mean fording both streams, one about as large as the other at this junction. And Pike's map does not indicate a fork in the stream, something he is rather particular about in marking his camp sites. At the last previous camp he had shown all five branches of Gypsum creek—and they are actually there. (2) On leaving this Mulberry creek camp Pike again alters his course, as shown by the angle on his map;¹⁷ this time a little to the right, north. And this lines him up with the established point of his Saline river crossing, the next day.

Passing to the next journal entry, we trail Pike on to the north; more nearly so than his somewhat askew map seems to indicate:

18th September, Thursday.—Marched at our usual hour, and at twelve o'clock halted at a large branch of the Kans, which was strongly impregnated with salt. This day we expected the people of the village to meet us. We marched again at four o'clock. Our route being over a continued series of hills and hollows, we were until eight at night before we arrived at a small dry branch. It was nearly ten o'clock before we found any water. Commenced raining a little before day. Distance 25 miles.¹⁸

The "large branch of the Kans, which was strongly impregnated with salt" was the Saline river, flowing more directly into the Smoky Hill than into the Kansas river proper. The "people of the village" were the Pawnees, to whom on the morning of September 14 he had sent Dr. Robinson of the party and a Pawnee scout named Frank as embassies.¹⁹ From the terrain, the Saline crossing was probably about a mile east of the present railroad crossing, near Culver and the Saline-Ottawa county line.²⁰

This brings us to the Rainy-Days camp, which we unhesitatingly place on a small branch of Salt creek, present Ottawa county, sec. 27 of Center township, about five miles southwest of Minneapolis. Everything seems to fit the picture: (1) There are two springs there, as indicated by small forks of the branch on Pike's map,²¹ each issuing from the head of a little glen in the red-brown Dakota sandstone. Their runs combine to form a little stream which passes in review before a small flat which very probably was the camp

16. Coues, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

17. Pike, *op. cit.*, Plate I.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

20. George A. Ogle & Co., pub., *Standard Atlas of Ottawa County Kansas* (Chicago, 1918), p. 7.

21. Pike, *op. cit.*, Plate I.

site. This stream may have been dry where first contacted at this season, as Pike indicates, but there is perennial water a little way up to the left from his line of march; and the search in the dark would involve some time in locating it. (2) These spring runs are the first source of water the trail party would meet with in the late afternoon march from the Saline river²² up through Pawnee gap, the traditional outlet to the north. This route is marked by several Indian burial sites along the way and by pictographs on a cliff about three miles from the camp. The Osage members of Pike's party very likely knew the way, as would also the Pawnee who had gone ahead with Dr. Robinson a few days previously. (3) The mileage from the Saline crossing fits the picture very closely, as does the mileage to the next two camps after the break up of this one. It is true, the mileage for the day as given by Pike is excessive,²³ but it often is. And certainly the party would not cover more miles in the evening march than they had in the entire forenoon's travel from Mulberry creek to the Saline, a known distance of not over ten miles.²⁴ (4) Pike indicates, by hatching on his map, the north-south trend of Pawnee gap and places the camp site on the west side of the gap,²⁵ where the springs are located. (5) Just back of this camp site is the sentinel cliff, mentioned by Pike,²⁶ from the highest point of which a remarkable view carries the eye back to the Saline crossing, if not to the Mulberry creek campsite, of the previous night, and on ahead through the northern entrance to Pawnee gap, and on toward the Salt creek crossing of three days later. To the west the skyline limits this still virgin stretch of pasture prairie.

The little stream heading in these springs threads its way four or five miles to the northeast and falls into Salt creek.²⁷ It is not dignified by a name on any map but the place has been known since pioneer days as Rocky Fern. So we may call the stream Rockyfern creek, and let it go at that for posterity. Sometimes it magnifies itself by spring freshets.

Here the party was held up for two days by rains and did not march again until Sunday morning. The situation was rather doleful, for Pike says that "we employed ourselves in reading the Bible, Pope's Essays, and in pricking on our arms with India ink *some*

22. Ogle, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 33.

23. Pike, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

24. Edwards' *Atlas of Saline Co. Kansas*, p. 5; Ogle, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

25. Pike, *op. cit.*, Plate I.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

27. Ogle, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

characters, which will frequently bring to mind our forlorn and dreary situation, as well as the happiest days of our life." More to our particular interest in this research, he says further: "In the rear of our encampment was a hill, on which there was a large rock, where the Indians kept a continual sentinel, as I imagine, to apprise them of the approach of any party, friends or foes, as well as to see if they could discover any game on the prairies."²⁸ This sentinel rock we have referred to in our evidence for the correct camp site (see accompanying pictures).

Continuing the march for Sunday, September 21, the journal reads, in part:

We marched at eight o'clock, although every appearance of rain, and at eleven o'clock passed a large creek remarkably salt. Stopped at one o'clock on a fresh branch of the salt creek. Our interpreter having killed an elk, we sent out for some meat, which detained us so late that I concluded it best to encamp where we were, in preference to running the risk of finding no water. . . . Distance 10 miles.²⁹

The jigsaw puzzle of the trail again matches perfectly here—for the Salt creek crossing, the evening camp, and the march to the Solomon. Only ten miles were made that day, in five hours, with Lieutenant Wilkinson and one of the soldiers ill.³⁰ The party halted, for the afternoon and the night, on Lost creek, in the close neighborhood of the Rees springs. There are perennial ponds or watering places there, though farther south along the trail the stream suggests the origin of its name by losing itself in the substratum. This again, as in the march up from the Saline, is the first fresh water the party would come across, and dictated Pike's decision to camp there for the night, rather than risk a dry camp farther on. The camp was very probably near the line between secs. 7 and 8, Garfield township (T. 10 S., R. 4 W.).³¹ The mile-ages from the Rockyfern camp to the Salt creek crossing and from there to this one-o'clock encampment adjust themselves quite correctly.

Following the party the next day, Monday, September 22, we pass Lost creek again in two places, indicated on Pike's map, and then cross over a divide shown on the map by the conventional row of hills.³² The hills are there, in the topography; rather salient landmarks for this part of the country and some of them known

28. Pike, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 140.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

31. Ogle, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 32.

32. Pike, *op. cit.*, Plate I.

locally by the names of early settlers. In this day's march we are obliged to accept an emendation in the text of the journal, as supplied by the editors we have already quoted. For, after marching three hours to dinner and, after that, "12 miles" to camp, the day's progress is summed up as 11 miles. Evidently the "12" miles was meant for two miles,³³ which fits the picture perfectly. We quote the journal entry, in part:

22d September, Monday.—We did not march until eight o'clock, owing to the indisposition of lieutenant Wilkinson. At eleven waited to dine. Light mists of rain, with flying clouds. We marched again at three o'clock, and continued our route twelve [two] miles to the first branch of the republican fork. . . . Distance 11 miles.³⁴

It will be noted that Pike places this camp "on the first branch of the republican fork" (as he supposed). More correctly he calls the river Solomon's fork of the "Kans River" when he crossed it the next morning.³⁵ Whether by tradition or by local coincidence this creek of the camp site, rising in the extreme northwest corner of Ottawa county and flowing north into Cloud county, is still designated on the map as First creek. There is no other on the right bank, downstream, until we come to Salt creek, for which Pike had already accounted. Just west of it, upstream, and nearly parallel to it are two other small creeks known as Second creek and Third creek, respectively.³⁶ Between these two streams is a low ridge, plain enough on the terrain and marked on Pike's map by light hatching.³⁷ The Solomon crossing, then, was less than two miles west of present Glasco. It is not strange that "one of the horses fell and wet his load," for the higher bank of the river here is on the approach side. The journal entry for the crossing date follows:

23d September, Tuesday.—Marched early and passed a large fork of the Kans river, which I suppose to be the one generally called Solomon's. One of our horses fell into the water and wet his load. Halted at ten o'clock on a branch of this fork. We marched at half past one o'clock, and encamped at sun-down, on a stream where we had a great difficulty to find water. We were overtaken by a Pawnee, who encamped with us. He offered his horse for our use. Distance 21 miles.³⁸

To continue on Pike's trail after crossing the Solomon would bring us onto debatable ground, literally. And we do not now care

33. Coues, *op. cit.*, p. 407; Hart-Hulbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 76.

34. Pike, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

35. *Ibid.*

36. John P. Edwards, pub., *Edwards' Atlas of Cloud County Kansas* (Quincy, Ill., 1885), pp. 5, 65; Ogle, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

37. Pike, *op. cit.*, Plate I.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 141.

to dig up a hatchet which has been buried these twenty years and go on the Pawnee warpath again, for scalps or glory. We have enjoyed this research the more that, during the years of its continuance, we did not know of the interstate controversy of the monument site and therefore were able to follow the gleam of guide lights without prejudice.

In summary, we wish to emphasize that in following this course through Saline and Ottawa counties we had at least twenty adjustments to make in fitting streams, camps, ridges, divides, trail angles and mileages into the topography and terrain. We have every confidence that the picture is complete.

The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation, 1831

Edited by J. ORIN OLIPHANT

I. INTRODUCTION

EARLY in the autumn of 1831, James B. Gardiner, as special agent of the United States government, was endeavoring to persuade the Wyandot Indians to exchange the lands they then held in Ohio for lands in the country lying west of the state of Missouri. During the course of the negotiation, both parties agreed that a delegation should be sent to examine the Western lands that had been offered to the Wyandots. For that purpose six persons were appointed. The leader of this delegation was William Walker, a member of the Wyandot nation and a man of considerable education.

In October, 1831, Gardiner accompanied the Wyandot delegation from Upper Sandusky, Ohio, to Cincinnati, from which city Walker and his five companions set out by boat, near the end of October, on the journey to their Western destination. Gardiner presumed that the delegation, with good luck, might complete its mission and arrive home by Christmas. Meanwhile, as he informed the Office of Indian Affairs, he purposed to employ a part of his time in adjusting "the details of a *final treaty* with the Wyandot chiefs."¹

As late as January 4, 1832, Gardiner was confident that he could soon conclude a satisfactory treaty with the Wyandots, for he had just heard, on what he believed to be excellent authority, that the exploring party was on the way home and that the members of this party were "highly pleased with the country assigned them." "I flatter myself," he wrote to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, "that I shall be able, in four or five weeks, to present you with a definitive treaty with this sagacious, intelligent and *crafty* tribe of Indians, which will be of the highest importance to a large section of this state, and greatly in aid of the benevolent policy of the Government."²

Before the next day was ended, however, Gardiner's hope of

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1. James B. Gardiner to S. S. Hamilton, November 1, 1831, in The National Archives: Records of the Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Incoming Letters, 1831-1832, "Wyandots."

2. Gardiner to Lewis Cass, January 4, 1832.—*Ibid.*

achieving a triumph was vanishing, for in the afternoon of January 5 Col. Thomas B. Vanhorne had informed him that Walker had declared in Dayton, Ohio, as the exploring party was passing through that town on the way home, that the report of the delegation would be unfavorable to the proposed exchange of lands. Believing that it was not improbable that, on hearing such a report, "the *whites*, half-breeds, and the 'Christian party,' so called," would be against treating on "any reasonable terms," and believing also that the "pagan" or "savage party" would listen to "reason," Gardiner asked permission of Lewis Cass to make a treaty with this latter group for the cession of their part of the Wyandot reservation. "*They* have Chiefs and Headmen among them," he added, "whom they recognize and obey."³

The news that Gardiner had received from Colonel Vanhorne turned out to be correct, for the report of the exploring delegation was emphatically unfavorable to the proposed exchange of lands. This report, presumably written by Walker, is reproduced below.

Gardiner was much disturbed at the turn affairs had taken. In a long letter to Lewis Cass, dated at Lebanon, Ohio, on January 28, 1832, he reviewed his negotiations with the Wyandots and complained bitterly of what he believed to be the duplicity of William Walker and of one of Walker's companions named Silas Armstrong. Because of its important bearing upon the report of the delegation, this letter is also reproduced below.

As to the truthfulness of Gardiner's charges, the present-day student of this subject, having nothing on which to base a judgment except the evidence prepared by Gardiner for Cass, is at a loss what to conclude. From Henry C. Brish, William Brish, and George W. Gist, men who had just returned to Ohio from conducting the Seneca Indians from that state to the Indian country west of the Mississippi river, Gardiner collected depositions which he submitted to Cass as proof of his contention that the Wyandot delegation had made a dishonest report.⁴ All these men affirmed under oath that they had talked with Walker in St. Louis after the return of the Wyandot delegation to that city from its exploring tour, and that they had gained from him the impression that the members of this delegation were so well pleased with the new tract that had been offered to the Wyandots that they would recommend an exchange of lands. They also gave testimony that tended to arouse suspi-

3. Gardiner to Cass, January 5, 1832.—*Ibid.*

4. Deposition of Henry C. Brish on January 23, 1832, and depositions of William Brish and George W. Gist on January 16, 1832.—*Ibid.*

cion as to the correctness of some of the statements in the report of the delegation. Furthermore, Gardiner submitted the answers of Silas Armstrong to questions that Gardiner had asked him as additional proof that the delegation had not adequately examined the tract of land offered to the Wyandots by the United States government.⁵ Upon the testimony thus obtained Gardiner based several of the conclusions he set forth in his letter to Lewis Cass of January 28, 1832.

From a careful reading of the above-mentioned documents one might conclude that the delegation had not fully complied with its instructions relative to the exploration it had been sent to make. One might conclude also that some of the statements in the report of the delegation were open to question.⁶ And, finally, one might well believe that the members of the delegation at the last moment had changed their minds as to the recommendation they would make to the Wyandot chiefs.

But if all these points be granted, it does not follow necessarily that the report of the delegation was "made," as Gardiner intimated it had been, in advance of the exploration, and that therefore the delegation had gone on a needless journey at the expense of the United States. The evidence that Gardiner offered in support of this charge was a deposition of George Williams, a member of the Wyandot nation.⁷ Williams, who had been nominated by Gardiner to be one of the exploring party and who had not been accepted, affirmed that John Baptiste, a member of the delegation, had told him that all the members of the delegation had been chosen by the Wyandot chiefs because they were known to be opposed in principle to the removal of the Wyandots from Ohio, and that Williams had not been selected because he was known to favor such removal provided that the Western tract offered to the Wyandots proved to be an acceptable one. But the unsupported testimony of Williams, who doubtless was disgruntled, does not definitely prove anything. It raises a suspicion, but a suspicion only, that Gardiner as well as the Wyandot chiefs had attempted to "pack" the delegation.

As to Gardiner's strictures on the conduct of Walker and of Armstrong, we can only say that they may or may not have been justified.

5. Examination of Silas Armstrong, undated [January, 1832].—*Ibid.*

6. Neither the statement in the report as to the condition of the corn crop in Missouri in 1831 nor the further statement in the report as to the unfriendly disposition of the inhabitants of Missouri to Indians was confirmed by the above-mentioned depositions.—*Ibid.*

7. Deposition of George Williams, January 25, 1832.—*Ibid.*

Lacking sufficient evidence, therefore, to warrant our making a judgment in the case of Gardiner against Walker and others, we must content ourselves with examining Gardiner's charges in the light of his obvious chagrin. During 1831 he had completed four treaties of exchange with other bands of Indians residing in Ohio,⁸ and naturally he was eager to impress the Jackson administration by a record of complete success. If he had been outgeneraled by the Wyandots in a war of wits, as he may well have been, his wrath is understandable. Even his success in negotiating a treaty with the band of Wyandots residing at the Big Spring was but slight compensation to him for the failure of his negotiation with the main body of Wyandots, for the former, though consenting to give up their lands in Ohio, refused to accept lands west of the Mississippi river. The treaty that Gardiner concluded with them on January 19, 1832, was, therefore, a treaty of purchase rather than a treaty of exchange.⁹

As a commentary on his version of his dealings with the Wyandots, it may be observed that Gardiner's methods in concluding four of the five treaties he made with the Indians in Ohio were seriously questioned in the senate.¹⁰ Nevertheless, these four treaties were approved by the senate and were proclaimed on April 6, 1832.¹¹ That Gardiner had not lost favor with the administration is proved by the fact that he was appointed to superintend the removals for which these treaties provided.¹²

The tract of land that William Walker and his companions were sent to examine in 1831, though then lying beyond the western boundary of Missouri, is now within the limits of that state. By an act of congress of June 7, 1836, the provisions of which were agreed to by the legislature of Missouri on December 16, 1836, an area containing this tract—the so-called "Platte Purchase"—was joined to the state of Missouri. By the addition of this area, an odd-shaped tract which on a map looks like the state of Idaho turned upside down, the Missouri river became the western boundary of the state of Missouri from the mouth of the Kansas river northwestward to the point where the Missouri river intersects "the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river

8. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 325-339.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-341.

10. Annie Heloise Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1906* (Washington, 1906), v. 1, p. 384.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

12. *Ibid.*, citing a letter from Cass to Gardiner, May 17, 1832.

Des Moines."¹³ The act of congress providing for this change became effective by presidential proclamation on March 28, 1837.¹⁴

The band of Wyandots living at or near Upper Sandusky continued to reside on their reservation in Ohio until 1843. On March 17, 1842, they ceded to the United States all their lands in Ohio, receiving therefor a promise of a tract of 148,000 acres west of the Mississippi.¹⁵ Because the United States did not fulfill its part of this agreement, the Wyandots, on their arrival west of the Mississippi, made an agreement with the Delaware nation, on December 14, 1843, whereby they acquired from the latter Indians a tract of land lying between the Missouri and the Kansas rivers, within the present state of Kansas. In all they thus acquired thirty-nine sections, of which three sections were a gift. For the remaining thirty-six sections they agreed to pay the Delawares the sum of \$46,080.¹⁶ The congress approved this agreement on July 25, 1848,¹⁷ and by a treaty with the Wyandots on April 1, 1850, the United States agreed to pay the Wyandots \$185,000, which sum was compensation at the rate of \$1.25 an acre for the 148,000 acres promised them by the treaty of 1842.¹⁸

William Walker migrated with the Wyandots to Kansas in 1843 and settled on the banks of Jersey creek, within the limits of the present Kansas City, Kan. According to William E. Connelley, he was "the principal man of the Wyandot nation." In 1853 he was elected provisional governor of Nebraska territory, a vast region which then embraced the present states of Kansas and Nebraska and parts of the present states of Colorado and Wyoming.¹⁹ He died in Kansas City, Mo., on February 13, 1874.²⁰

As a result of his exploring expedition in 1831, William Walker won for himself a place of minor importance in the history of the Pacific Northwest. While he was passing through St. Louis, Walker

13. Edward M. Douglas, "Boundaries, Areas, Geographic Centers and Altitudes of the United States and the Several States . . .," U. S. Geological Survey, *Bulletin* 689 (Washington, 1923), pp. 177, 178.

14. James D. Richardson, comp., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902* (Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1905), v. 3, p. 321.

15. Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 534-537.

16. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report, 1896-1897* (Washington, 1899), Pt. 2, pp. 776, 777; Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 587. The text of the agreement for the purchase by the Wyandots of lands from the Delawares may be conveniently found in William E. Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 6, p. 98, Footnote 8.

17. *Laws of the United States of a Local or Temporary Character* . . . (Washington, 1884), v. 2, p. 849.

18. Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 587.

19. William E. Connelley, "The East Boundary Line of Kansas," reprinted from the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, March 6, 1899, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, p. 79.

20. William E. Connelley, *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory* (Lincoln, Neb., 1899), p. 15.

called upon Gen. William Clark, and in Clark's house he saw three Indians who had come to St. Louis from the Far Northwest in quest, as Walker was led to believe, of knowledge of the white men's religion.²¹ On January 19, 1833, Walker, in a letter to Gabriel P. Disosway, of New York, related the story of these Indians. Subsequently Disosway incorporated Walker's letter in a communication of his own to the editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, a Methodist newspaper published in New York City. The Walker-Disosway letter²² was published in the issue of that newspaper for March 1, 1833, and it aroused so great an interest in the Protestant churches in the United States that the Methodist Missionary Society sent a mission to the Oregon Indians in 1834 and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent another mission to those Indians in 1836.

Because of an ambiguous statement in Disosway's communication (not in Walker's), it was long assumed that Walker had made his exploring tour in the West in 1832 rather than in 1831. But the report of the exploring delegation, dated at St. Louis on December 15, 1831, together with the documents mentioned above, establishes beyond question the fact that the Wyandot delegation headed by Walker made its tour of exploration in 1831.

II. "REPORT OF THE WYANDOTT EXPLORING DELEGATION"²³

(Copy)

Saint Louis Dec 15 1831

To the Chiefs of the
Wyandott Nation.

Your delegation appointed to examine the country west of the Mississippi river, proposed to be given to the Wyandotts of Ohio, beg leave to

Report:—That they have, pursuant to instructions, made the examination as directed. After a long & tedious journey, we arrived at the last town near the western limits of the State of Missouri. Some of our company, viz Wm. Walker & C. B. Garrett, being sick, four of your delegates proceeded on, crossed the State line and commenced the examination of the country near the western line of the State & the River Platte.

21. Four Indians had made the journey to St. Louis from the Oregon country, but one of them had died a few days before Walker arrived in St. Louis.

22. This letter is reproduced in Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1935), v. 2, pp. 894-901.

23. This document is in the collection cited in Footnote 1, *supra*. The map which accompanied the report has been lost. On the title page of the report appear the following notations: "Handed Paul Brader Draughtsman April 12, 1887 Plat not to be found Aug 16 - 1911 B - F."

Within two or three days the exploring party was rejoined by one of our sick men, viz, Wm. Walker; the other C. B. Garrett, continuing sick. The examination was made by five of your delegates.

We must be permitted here to say, that your delegates entered upon the examination with minds unbiased, unprejudiced, feeling the responsibility that rested upon them, and fully prepared to do ample justice to the reputation of the country.

The Country we examined, it is universally admitted by all who are acquainted with the whole tract of country purchased by the General Government for the purpose of settling the emigrating Indians of the United States, to be decidedly the best for the settlement of Indians from the Northern part of the United States.

The lands between the Western line of the State of Missouri & the River Platte, (See map accompanying) are generally prairie, high, dry, in some places rolling and in many places cup [*sic*] up with deep ravines, but generally of a rich black soil. In these prairies the small runs and ravines are so deep and the banks perpendicular that it frequently happens that a traveller has to trace them to near their head before they can be crossed. In all this tract, (the average width of which is about 8 miles and in length 30 miles,) there is but little timber and what there is, is of a low scrubby, knotty and twisted kind and fit for nothing but firewood. It has been said that within this scope of country, sugar-trees abound; this is a mistake. We generally suppose when we hear of a country abounding with Sugar-trees, that there is enough to afford good Sugar camps;—for there is little else that gives value to them but this simple and yet good property, viz, the sap they yield from which Sugar is manufactured. This article, we are well aware, is one of the principal commodities of commerce with our nation.²⁴

In all of our examination, we discovered but one solitary spot on which there was any thing like a collection of Sugar-trees—and that was 30 trees on 10 acres. On the west side of the River Platte, the land is timbered; but the timber is of that description generally that is of no great use to an agricultural community. The best and most useful timber is scarce and what there is of it, is deplorably defective. We noticed that the woodland was not thickly timbered and yet the major part of the timber is of the useless kind;

24. Compare this description with the brief description given by Walker in his letter to Disosway.—Chittenden, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 897.

such as Red Elm, Linwood Mulberry Hackberry Slippery Elm Cottonwood Honey Locust Buck Eye and a small growth of Pin Oak & White Hickory &c. While upon the subject of timber, we will add that the conclusion with your delegation is irresistible that there is not good timber sufficient for the purposes of a people that wish to pursue agriculture. With regard to the quality of the soil, no objection can be urged [against] it. It is generally a dark rich loam, varying in depth by being either hilly or bottom land, it is rich and productive, but the situation, or rather face of the country is certainly not friendly to its continuing so when cultivated. The reason we assign for its not continuing so when put under cultivation is, (and we think we will be sustained by all practical agriculturalists) that the lands are so steep, broken and uneven, with so many ravines and runs that the rich soil, when cultivated, must necessarily wash away and be carried down those steep & rapid ravines and runs and totally lost;—indeed we have seen enough in that country to satisfy us on this head. From all the information we could obtain with regard to the climate, we are satisfied that it is colder than it is in our part of the State of Ohio tho' it is 39 f [*sic*] degrees of north latitude. The Corn crops throughout the State of Missouri have been the last season, with very few exceptions, frost bitten. It is said that seven eighths of the corn crops have been thus injured. We do doubt its being as good a corn country generally as the country we now occupy. For farming generally, we can with safety say that it will not suit the Wyandott Nation as well as the country they now hold.

It may be urged that a part of the Nation procure a subsistence by the chase, and as game has become scarce in this country, there is an absolute necessity for the Nation to seek a new home, in a country where game abounds to save them from want and indigence.

If it be supposed that by removing to this new country, the interests of the hunting part of our nation will be promoted by the abundance of game in that country, we must say it is a mistaken idea. The game consists chiefly of Bear, Deer & Raccoon and the smaller kinds of game. There is a strip of wooded country situated between the Missouri River and the Missouri State line, in the middle of which runs the River Platte, in which there is, it is true a considerable of Bear, but we would ask how long would they continue to be plenty in that region if the Wyandotts got there? particularly as they are acknowledged to be generally good Bear hunters. We venture to say that in three years time they would be as scarce as

they now are upon our reservation. As for Deers, they cannot be said to be plenty in that country—the same may be said of Raccoon.

Go out of this tract, you will then come in contact with some other tribe that will view you as intruding and will certainly be driven off their hunting grounds if you do not receive rougher treatment.

Independently of these considerations, there are many other circumstances that weigh much in the minds of your delegation. The country proposed to be given to the Wyandotts is now occupied by the Sacks & Iowas; these tribes, it is true, have not the right of soil, or fee of the land, but they claim the right of occupation for the term of ten years from the ratification of their treaty with the Government, leaving yet nine years of occupation, one year only having expired. This they claim and will contend for. The consequences resulting from our settling there, while they make this claim to the land, can be more easily imagined than described.

Moreover, the leading politicians of the State of Missouri, are opposed to the settling of Indians upon her frontier—speak of Indians as “a nuisance” a “curse to the State” &c, in short, they evince an unfriendly and indeed a hostile disposition.

Great exertions have been made, and are now making to have the whole “Platte country” added to the State;—strong memorials have been sent on to Congress, and the Representation from that State, are now actively engaged in endeavoring to carry the measure thro’ Congress.

The inhabitants generally upon the frontier of the State, (those who would be our neighbors,) are with a few honorable exceptions, the most abandoned, dissolute and wicked class of people we ever saw;—fugitives from justices from the States of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and other southern States, form a large portion of the population upon this frontier—with such neighbors on one side, not only unfriendly to us but to Indians generally, the Sacks & Iowas viewing us as intruders, we think the situation of the Wyandotts, settled there, would not be an enviable one.

Missouri is a slaveholding state, and slaveholders are seldom very friendly to Indians: (See Georgia) at least they have, whenever they have got Indians in their power, proven themselves to be the greatest and most merciless oppressors they ever met with among all the American population. Situated as we would be upon the borders of the State, our territory would be an asylum & sanctuary for run-

away and vagrant negros; for as soon as they cross the State line, they are without the limits of the United States, and we are sure we have enough of that class already amongst us.

It has been said repeatedly that by removing to this country we should be freed from the troubles and evils we experience by being surrounded by a white population, especially from the destructive influence of intemperance. We can assure you we shall never realize this in that country:—on the contrary, we shall have a more worthless and corrupt class of whites to deal and associate with than is to be found in this part of Ohio—so far from being removed from the temptations to intemperance, we shall, to say the least, be as much exposed to this curse to human society as we now are. Not even the strong arm of military power can prevent the introduction of ardent spirits among the troops at Cantonment Leavenworth, which is west of the tract of country we would occupy, should we remove, and the road, leading from the white settlement to the Garrison, passes thro' nearly the center of this tract of country and crosses the Platte River at the falls. (See map) our nation would be constantly exposed to this evil and not only to this, but to all manner of impositions from the hordes and bands of rambling trappers and bee-hunters that infest the country west of the State of Missouri. If military force cannot suppress whiskey traders, we would ask how an Indian Agent is to succeed?

We cannot avoid putting but a small estimate upon the promised protection of the General Government after we shall have settled there. If we should be able to protect ourselves, well; if not, then the consequence must be, we must suffer much before the Government would afford any relief. Of all the countries for civilizing and improving the condition of Indians, this would be the last we should select for that purpose. If it be the object of the Government to promote the interests and happiness of our nation, by settling them in this country, we must say, we do not believe that by this measure, this desirable object will be attained.

The Indians that have settled on the south side of the Missouri and on the Kansas River, we are confident, instead of improving in civilized habits, good morals, or their condition being in any degree improved, or ameliorated, have on the contrary retrograded—especially the Delawares from Indiana.

Your delegation, it is supposed, were to consult and keep in view the general interests of the nation by whom they have been de-

puted, and after completing their examination, weigh all the advantages and disadvantages with fairness & candor, then to report whether in their opinion, the interests of the Nation at large will be promoted by their removal to that country or not. They have at least governed themselves by this belief and acted accordingly in the difficult task assigned them.

In conclusion, your delegation must say, and that in all truth and sincerity, that they are decidedly of opinion that the interests of the nation will not be promoted, nor their condition ameliorated, by a removal from this to the country examined, and recommend to the Chiefs and nation at large to cease all contention, bickerings and party strifes; settle down & maintain their position in the State of Ohio.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed)

John Gould his x mark
John Baptiste his x mark

(Signed)

James Washington his x mark
Wm. Walker
Silas Armstrong

Upper Sandusky O Jan 27th 1832

I certify that the foregoing is a true copy from the original Report made by the Delegation of which I was conductor.

Wm. Walker

III. GARDINER'S LETTER TO CASS CHARGING WALKER WITH DUPLICITY

Lebanon, Ohio, Jany. 28th 1832 ²⁵

Hon. Lewis Cass,
Secretary of War,
Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that I returned to this place last evening, after an absence of three weeks among the Wyandotts. Having travelled one hundred and fifty miles within the last three days, in the coldest weather experienced this winter, and being much weakened by fatigue, I am unable at this time, to give more than a partial report of my late operations.

While on my way to Upper Sandusky, I saw at Columbus a letter from Wm. Walker, (written from Eaton, near the Indiana line, while on his return,) to Col. Wm. Doherty, the Speaker of the Ohio Senate, in which he spoke in contemptuous and sarcastic terms of

25. This letter is in the collection cited in Footnote 1, *supra*.

the "*Indian Paradise*" he had visited, abused the Government for its overtures, and insinuated that all the emigrating tribes had been "*most shamefully imposed upon.*" This, in addition to other intimations [?] I had received of his conduct and expressions since his return, prepared me for the reception which I anticipated at Upper Sandusky.

It was especially understood and agreed between Mr. Walker and myself, previously to his departure, that, after exploring the country on the Missouri river, at and above the confluence of the Little Platte,²⁶ if that tract should not prove acceptable, he should pass to the south side of the Missouri, among the Shawnees and the Delawares settled on the Kansas, (many of whom are friends and former acquaintances of the Wyandotts,) and after procuring competent guides from them, continue to explore the unappropriated parts of the Indian District until he should either find an acceptable tract, or become convinced that *no part* of that country would serve the purpose of the Wyandotts. You will perceive, sir, by the enclosed documents, with which I have considered it *my duty to furnish you*, that he not only violated this agreement, but actually *avoided visiting* the particular tract at and above the mouth of the Platte, to which his attention had been directed, and of which he had heard the most flattering accounts from Capt. Pipe, Captain Monture, and other Delawares and Shawnees of Ohio, who had personally examined *that tract*. The Delegation *never saw the country* which I had proffered to them in behalf of the Government! They spent but *one night* in the woods. They were but six days, in all, on the western line of the State of Missouri, and, as will appear from their own shewing, they occupied most of that time in the sport of bear-hunting, on horseback and with dogs! Their "Report," herewith transmitted, is, I am thoroughly convinced, an ingenious tissue of *preconcerted* misrepresentations; and I am now equally satisfied that *the whole plan*, of filching from the Government the money for such a tour, and the making *just such a Report* was matured at Upper Sandusky last summer. The object was to quiet all anxieties on the part of the tribe, relative to removal, and settle them down into a state of false security and complete subserviency to *the few*, (white and partly white,) who are the only gainers by their continued residence in Ohio. I consider the situation of the Wyandotts, though on a smaller scale,

26. This river is in the northwestern part of the present state of Missouri. It must not be mistaken for the Platte river which flows eastward through the state of Nebraska.

very similar to that of the Cherokees, as described in your late annual Report.

There was also a positive agreement between Mr. Walker and myself, that he should preserve a total silence on the subject of his exploration until his return, and that *I* should be present at the time of presenting his Report to the Chiefs. Instead of adhering to this understanding, he wrote to others, besides Col. Doherty, before and after his return, and verbally proclaimed as he passed through Dayton, *what the Report would be*, and cast sundry unjust and ungrateful reflections upon the Government. He never communicated at all to me, as he had promised to do, from the time of leaving St. Louis, on his way to the Upper Missouri, until I saw him at Upper Sandusky, after his return. He was then distant and reserved in his manner, and made use of much prevarication, in endeavouring to apologize for his conduct. He well knew my place of residence, but had passed within twenty-five miles of it, without informing me of his arrival in the State. The Report was read to the Chiefs with many verbal amplifications, before it was possible for me to reach Upper Sandusky, after *accidentally* hearing of the return of the Delegation. The *desired impression* was made upon the whole nation before my arrival.

Having the best reasons to suspect the truth of the Report, and the motives from which it was compiled, I conceived it my duty to examine the different members of the Delegation, *separately and apart from each other*, and take down their several recollections in writing. I commenced with Silas Armstrong, whose answers to my questions are herewith transmitted. He is an intelligent quarter-blooded Wyandott, educated in English, and was, no doubt a party to the plot before mentioned. You will see that he contradicts the report, *signed by himself*, in several important particulars. After this I could go no further, as none of the others would submit to an examination. The *Indians* acknowledged that Walker had warned them not to answer me!

In my letter to you of the 4th inst., I stated the opinion of Capt. Brish, (who had seen Mr. Walker and his party at St. Louis, just after their return to that place,) that from conversation with Mr. W. he was satisfied the Report of the Delegation would be *favourable to removal*. To ascertain the grounds upon which this opinion had been predicated, I thought it my duty to take the depositions of Captain Henry C. Brish, Captain George W. Gist and William Brish, all of whom had been engaged in conducting

the Senecas to Missouri. These depositions are herewith transmitted, and will, I think, fully convince you of the gross misrepresentations and false reasonings which Mr. Walker has presented as the result of his labours.

Previously to the Delegation setting out from Upper Sandusky for Missouri, I discovered much discontent among some of the mixed-breed, relative to the incompetency of the persons chosen as Delegates. Silas Armstrong, who has many respectable and influential connexions, was particularly dissatisfied, and was likely to create some disturbances, because he and his relatives had been overlooked. To quiet all murmurings, and ensure as much harmony as possible, I took upon myself the responsibility of employing him as a Delegate, *on the part of the United States*, with instructions that he should report to *you*, through me, and not to the Chiefs, the result of his observations; and his expenses, only, should be paid out of my contingent fund. I now find that he leagued with Walker, in his scheme, joined in his Report to the Chiefs, and *made no communication whatever to me*. Proving thus faithless, I determined not to pay him, without your special orders.

Of the sum of one thousand dollars appropriated for the expedition, seven hundred were deemed by the Chiefs sufficient for expenses, and three hundred were given to Wm. Walker, as an *extra compensation*, as he refused to submit his proper allowance to the judgment of the Chiefs, inasmuch as he was required to act in the triple capacity of Conductor, Interpreter, and Delegate. At that time, I confess, I had full confidence in his integrity, and thought the allowance no more than reasonable. His Report and subsequent conduct prove how unworthy he was of this boon of the Government.

After ascertaining the true state of things at Upper Sandusky, I repaired to the town of McCutchensville, in the neighborhood of the separate band of Wyandotts residing on a Reservation of 16,000 acres at the Big Spring. I had always promised them that, in case the Chiefs at Upper Sandusky utterly refused to unite with them in ceding the whole of the Wyandott lands in the United States, the Big Spring Band should have the privilege of concluding a *separate treaty* for the cession of *their own Reservation*. Accordingly, I sent for some of their principal men, and ultimately made the accompanying *Treaty*. The Upper Sandusky Chiefs at first made a violent effort to *force* the signers to petition the President to withdraw their names, and actually threatened *to saw their ears off with a file*, seize their chattel property, and drive them out of

Ohio! After an interview with me, however, they thought it *prudent* to cease all opposition to the measure; and before I left Upper Sandusky they had acquiesced, and even appeared anxious the treaty should be ratified. This solely arose from prospective views of *gain*. Those Chiefs, with their white and yellow auxiliaries, are as avaricious and envious as they are subtle and insincere. It was intimated to me that they intend to compound with the Wyandotts of the Big Spring to remove to the "Grand Reservation" and give the Upper Sandusky people the whole or part of the avails of the Big Spring tract.

The Treaty, you will perceive, is not made on the basis of the other conveniences with the Ohio Indians. Those Wyandotts refused to accept of any lands west of the Mississippi, on any terms whatever. The price given is very high, but the sales, I feel convinced, will reimburse the Government in a year or two. It is not, indeed, such a treaty as I could have wished; but, under existing circumstances, it was *the best I could get*.— The Big Spring Reservation lies partly in the counties of Hancock, Seneca and Crawford, and the extinguishment of the Indian title is greatly desired by the citizens of those new counties. And it is believed that, notwithstanding the apparent determination of the Upper Sandusky Indians to maintain their present position, this treaty will be the means of producing a final cession of all the Wyandott lands in Ohio in a year or two more.— It remains for the President and Senate to decide upon the expediency of its ratification.

I design to remain at home a few days yet, to recruit from my late exposure and fatigues, and prepare my reports and other papers for your inspection. I am in hopes to reach Washington by the 15th or 20th of next month. It will not, therefore, be necessary for the Department to address any further communications to me at this place, as I shall probably have left home before they could arrive.

I have the honor to be

With very great respect,

Your most obdt. servt.

James B. Gardiner,

Special Agent, &c.

The Early Work of the Lorettes in Southeastern Kansas

SISTER M. LILLIANA OWENS, S. L.

ST. PAUL, formerly old Osage Mission, is one of the most interesting spots in Kansas.¹ It is snugly tucked away in the midst of hills and valleys and the church with the adjoining monastery and school make one feel as if a bit of France had been translated in Kansas soil. The monastery belongs to the Passionist Fathers and is of recent date, but the magnificent Church of St. Francis de Hieronymo was built by the Jesuit Fathers.

Bishop Louis Du Bourg had but recently established his residence in St. Louis when he received the request from the Osages for missionaries.² As the matter was a serious one, the Osages had thought it better to hear the opinion of the people before taking any definite step. For this reason the chief of the Great Osages and the chief of the Little Osages met with their counsellors. The braves and the principal warriors, having discussed the matter for some time, unanimously decided to send a delegation to the bishop to request him to come to visit the villages and give them some priests to instruct their people, but above all to care for their children.

The delegation went, and being kindly received, they took courage and spoke out their minds freely, begging the bishop to send missionaries who would stay with them. They declared they would follow their advice and that they would become good Christians. Bishop Du Bourg was surprised by the earnestness with which they represented their condition. He formed a very favorable opinion of them and promised to comply with their wishes as soon as circumstances would allow him to do so.

Bishop Du Bourg applied to Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J., then provincial of the Maryland province, Society of Jesus, for missionaries. Father Kohlmann was not, at the time, in a position to grant the request.

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1. This article is based on ch. 6 of the unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West." All appendix references may be found in this manuscript which is also on microfilm at St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. Microfilm copies are available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich.

2. See "Interesting Memoirs Collected From Legends, Traditions and Historical Documents," by the Rev. Paul M. Ponziglione, S. J., ch. 6, p. 62 *et seq.*, in the archives of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. (Hereinafter cited A. St. L. U.)

Early in 1823 the bishop was in Washington and consulted government officials including the secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, on the subject of the education of the Indian children within his diocese. During this interview Mr. Calhoun suggested that they invite the Jesuit Fathers of Georgetown to furnish members of their society to assist in this work. Bishop Du Bourg then consulted the Rev. Charles Neale, S. J., who had in the meantime succeeded Father Kohlmann as provincial of the Maryland province. Father Neale accepted the offer.

About two years earlier Father Charles Nerinckx was in Europe and returned in September, 1821, accompanied by a colony of young Belgians who had come to America with the intention of devoting their lives to the missions. Among this group were Pierre Jean De Smet, later to become the "Grand Old Father of the Missions," Felix Verreydt and J. A. Elet. Six of this little band entered the Jesuit novitiate at White Marsh, Md., October 6, 1821. The Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, a Belgian priest, who had come to the United States with the idea of becoming a missionary among the Indians, was master of novices at White Marsh. Both he and the provincial, Father Neale, saw the unsuitable conditions at White Marsh and decided to transfer the novitiate to St. Thomas manor in St. Charles county, Maryland.

Again Bishop Du Bourg appealed to the Jesuits for help in the Western missions. Father Van Quickenborne recognized this as an opportunity, and urging the acceptance of the offer, volunteered to go. The six young Belgian novices asked to accompany him. Their destination was Florissant, Mo., where they arrived on June 3, 1823, and where they established St. Stanislaus Seminary, the headquarters of the Jesuits in the West. In the meantime Bishop Du Bourg had appointed the Rev. Charles De La Croix, the chaplain of the Religious of the Sacred Heart at Florissant, to visit the Osages in western Missouri and what is now eastern Kansas.

Father De La Croix, a Belgian by birth, was the first missionary of record to visit the Osages in what is now Kansas. He was a secular priest who had been ordained at Ghent by Bishop Du Bourg, of St. Louis, and had sailed for America with the bishop. His first charge was the missionary work at Barrens, Perry county, Missouri. In December, 1818, he was assigned to Florissant. While at Florissant he made his trips to the Osages on the Neosho river. The first Christian baptism of which there is a record in the present state of Kansas was performed by him. The children were James

and Francis Chouteau.³ He was preparing to build a chapel among the Osages when his health failed him and he was obliged to return to Missouri.⁴

The Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, S. J.,⁵ was the successor of Father De La Croix among the Osages. His first visit was made in 1827. Many of the Osages had known him in eastern Missouri before they had moved west and they gave him a warm welcome. He made other trips to the mission in 1829, 1830 and 1834. From a letter written by Father De Smet in 1857, we learn that he built a house and a chapel among the Kickapoos in 1836. It was he who pointed out the way for the establishment of the St. Francis Institute, the school established in Kansas by the Jesuits, and for the schools founded by the Sisters of Loretto and by the Religious of the Sacred Heart.

Father Van Quickenborne died in 1837. Father H. G. Aelen [*sic*], S. J.,⁶ succeeded Father Van Quickenborne and he in turn was succeeded by Father Felix L. Verreydt, S. J.

From the time the Pottawatomies succeeded in getting a Catholic mission, the Osages wanted a similar one for the education of their children. At last receiving encouragement and assistance from several members of the American Fur Company in 1846, they sent a petition to President Polk. When the president failed to grant all their demands, the matter was referred to the commissioner of Indian affairs, who requested the Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, archbishop of St. Louis, to provide for them. Archbishop Kenrick offered the new mission to the Rev. James Van de Velde, S. J., at that time the vice-provincial of the Society of Jesus. He placed the mission under the protection of St. Francis de Hieronymo and appointed Father John Schoenmakers, S. J., as its first superior. As Father Verreydt was well acquainted with the Osages, the provincial sent him to select a suitable place for the mission.⁷ The choice of

3. The first entry on the pages of the old register now in the archives of the Passionist Monastery at St. Paul, Kan. The old register is often consulted by Osages from Pawhuska, Okla., for one reason or another, often to establish the legitimacy of an Indian child whose inheritance to oil riches is being disputed.

4. W. W. Graves, *Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission* (St. Paul, 1916), p. 142. (Hereinafter cited as *Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*.) See, also, Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, S. C. L., *Beacon on the Plains* (Leavenworth, 1939), pp. 31, 33, 39, main entry 241, 242.

5. Father Van Quickenborne was also the founder of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. In 1824 he wrote to the father general about opening a college in St. Louis.—*Cf. Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, v. 2, p. 401. The college was not actually started until the autumn of 1828.—*Cf. Walter Hill, S. J., Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University*, p. 39 *et seq.*

6. The records at Osage Mission give the name as Allen—but the Jesuit Fathers have no record of a Father Allen as a member of the community at this time.—*See Graves, Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*, p. 143; see, also, Fitzgerald, *Beacon on the Plains*, p. 61.

7. *Cf. Father C. Hoecken, "Journal 1837-1847,"* entry dated September 16, 1844. This manuscript is in the archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kan.

Father Verreydt fell upon the spot where St. Paul, Kan., is now situated. Here the Indian department placed two log houses at the disposal of the missionaries.⁸

As soon as he received his appointment to this Indian mission, Father Schoenmakers lost no time in useless preparation. His first move was to visit the Indians at Osage Mission in the autumn of 1846, and in April, 1847, he established his permanent home there among the Osages. With the Rev. John Bax, S. J., as his assistant and three Jesuit brothers to aid him in his labors, he ascended the Missouri river as far as Westport Landing,⁹ which then consisted of two or three little shanties along the river bank. From here they took a southwestern course, traveling by ox-team.¹⁰ After several days of travel they at last reached the little mission, which was located "near to and on the east side of the Big Neosho, and immediately west of Rock creek."¹¹

Father John Schoenmakers and his comrades took up their residence in the two cabins. They knew the importance of educating the Osages not only in religion and literature, but in manual training as well, and by May 10, 1847, the Osage Manual Labor School was in readiness. This first day there were only three half-breeds in attendance. By the end of the month there was an enrollment of fourteen Osage boys.¹² This increased to forty by September 1, 1848.¹³ The branches taught were spelling, reading, arithmetic, singing, Christian morality, agriculture and domestic economy.¹⁴

Father Schoenmakers soon realized that the work would be incomplete without a girls' school. As soon as conditions permitted he confided the care of the mission to Father Bax, and set out for St. Louis to seek the services of one or the other of the communities of sisters living in that city. None felt, however, that they were in a position to undertake this work. The prairie priest was almost ready to admit that he was beaten in his first venture. Then he remembered that in the early years of Catholicity in Kentucky, when

8. Prior to 1845 no definite action was taken. On April 25, 1845, the sum of \$3,456 was placed in the hands of Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, at St. Louis, to be used in the erection of two schools and the necessary outbuildings, one of the schools to be used for the Osage boys and one for the Osage Indian girls.—See Graves, *Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*, p. 143.

9. Now Kansas City, Mo.

10. "Necrologium," p. 57, A. St. L. U.

11. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1848, Letter No. 16-A, p. 547.

12. See "Account Book" of Osage Manual Labor School, in archives of the Passionist Monastery, St. Paul.

13. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1848, pp. 544-549. See, also, Owens, *op. cit.*, documentary appendix, sec. IV, ch. 6.

14. The numerous letters of Father Schoenmakers on file at the Indian bureau indicate that the missionary remained in close correspondence with the federal authorities during the years of this interesting venture.—See appendix, Owens, *ibid.*

that state was as yet quite distinctly frontier in character, the Rev. Charles Nerinckx had established an order of sisters called the Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross who were accustomed to the struggles of pioneer life. Roughly clad, and in appearance no more than a weather-beaten farmer from the plains of Kansas, Father Schoenmakers made his way to the mother house of this community at Loretto, Ky. He pleaded with the ecclesiastical superior, the Rev. David Deparcq, for sisters to teach the Indian girls as he and his brother Jesuits were instructing the boys.

The tired and discouraged priest frankly told the sisters that living conditions at Osage Mission were nothing like the comforts of their peaceful mother house. He painted for them the beauty of the Kansas sunsets and the prairies, but he also felt compelled to tell them of the suffering they might have to endure from the droughts in the summer and the cold in the winter. He told them of the difficulties to be encountered on the way, feeling sure that when they heard of the many trials that would be in store for them few of the community would care to volunteer. But the spirit of the Maryland foundress was as vigorous in the Lorettes at this time as it had been in 1812 and they answered heroically. That very day several offered to start at any time. Father Deparcq praised them for their zeal and appointed four to take care of this mission—Mother Concordia Henning, superior, Sister Bridget Hayden, later known as Mother Bridget, Sister Mary Petronilla van Prater and Sister Vincentia Van Cool.

They left the mother house in September, 1847,¹⁵ and under the charge of Father Schoenmakers went on to St. Louis. Here they remained a few weeks to prepare for their journey. They embarked on the steamer *J. J. Harden* on September 20, 1847. After many delays on the sandbars of the Missouri, they reached Westport, the western end of civilization. Here the sisters found great kindness and hospitality at the home of Mrs. Francis G. Chouteau.

That their journey through the vast and largely uninhabited Kansas prairies might be less tedious to the sisters, Father Schoenmakers provided them with a comfortable lumber wagon¹⁶ and placed them under the care of a Mr. Jarboe, a Kansas City merchant.¹⁷ For eight days they endured the slow-moving oxen, the monotonous plains and the camping out every night. On the tenth of October,

15. See Ponziglione, "Interesting Memoirs," bk. 2, ch. 12, p. 152 *et seq.*

16. A lumber wagon was at this time a real luxury.

17. See Ponziglione, "Interesting Memoirs."

just a month from the time they left Loretto, they reached the mission.

All that was known by those at the mission concerning Father Schoenmakers and his party was that they would reach their destination some time during the fall of that year. Father Bax,¹⁸ did not like the idea of being taken by surprise. To prevent this he had posted several Indian boys on the look out. On the morning of October 10 the boys discovered smoke on the hill about five miles north of the mission where the old Kansas City road used to cross Flat Rock creek. After studying it very carefully they concluded that the long expected party was approaching. In less than an hour they were confirmed in their opinion when they discovered at a distance the white tops of the prairie schooners slowly advancing toward them.

Father Bax, accompanied by a dozen little boys all dressed in their Sunday clothes, went out to welcome the party. As they reached the first wagon the boys rushed at it, anxious to get a glimpse of Father Schoenmakers. The missionary, pleased by this manifestation of affection from his Osage children, caressed the smaller children and after thanking them for coming to see him, added: "Now boys, go to see the Sisters who are coming in the wagon and try to behave nicely." They all bowed respectfully to the sisters, who wondered at the sight of so many *polite* little Indian boys. The sisters were then taken to their new convent, which was made of hewn logs, two stories in height. They at once became the object of curiosity to the inquisitive Indians who had never before seen an attire like theirs. The beautiful red hearts which the sisters wore at this time as a part of their habit no doubt attracted the notice of the savages.¹⁹ They would come every little while to stare through the numerous crevices with which the poorly constructed houses abounded.

The sisters had been in their new home but two hours when four little girls were brought to Father Bax to be their first boarders.²⁰ Of these, one was a full-blood Osage and three were half-breeds.

18. Father Bax was a real martyr of charity. After devoting himself to the nursing of the Osages, who were afflicted with the scurvy, he himself contracted it and died August 5, 1852, being but 35 years of age.—See "Western Mission Journal," No. 7, A. St. L. U.; see, also, Fitzgerald, *Beacon on the Plains*, pp. 17, 19, 77, 79, 84, 87-89, 128, 130, 141, 142, 151, 154.

19. In 1847 the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross wore a black veil wired in the front with two red hearts embroidered, one on either side of the front of the black serge veil. This was discontinued when the new veil, the one worn at present, was adopted in 1909.

20. Paul M. Ponziglione, "The Osages and Father John Schoenmakers, S. J.," bk. 2, ch. 12; Ponziglione, "Interesting Memoirs."

The boarding school was opened with these four boarders on October 10, 1847.

In spite of a manifest willingness on the part of the Indians, they were not so amenable to Catholic teachings. In a letter written to Father De Smet by Father Bax we learn something of the trials through which the sisters had to pass:

Their sufferings, their trials, and their privations were very great. They were obliged to sleep in the open air. That did not hinder two other Sisters from coming to join them a little after in their heroic enterprise. Their patience, their kindness, their courage, and their perseverance have gained the esteem, affection, and love of every one. They are succeeding: they have already produced a considerable change, and are doing great good. The talents displayed in the direction of their school, and the rapid progress of the children are admired by all the strangers who visit this community.²¹

It was the wish of the Indian department that the school be a manual labor school and accordingly special hours were set apart for manual training as well as for literary studies. The girls were taught to cook, wash, iron, bake, sew, knit and the like, and their industry soon provided trousers, vests and garments for the boys to replace the ragged blankets which were their only attire. They considered it a great privilege to work for the altar and make laces, albs and vestments. Later on when the churches were built in the neighboring villages the girls took great delight in furnishing articles for them.

The Indian children were not used to confinement and for this reason the missionary priests had to give their charges many free days. Not only were the parents of the children surprised at the success of the missionaries, but the United States agents and commissioners who visited the school at regular intervals wondered at the readiness of those children in answering the questions put to them either in grammar, arithmetic or geography.²² What they most admired was their love for the school and for the teachers—*school spirit* we would call it today. The literary compositions and needlework done by these children attracted much attention.

Mother Concordia Henning, the first superior,²³ spent the greater part of her life sacrificing for the Indians. Many Indian papooses were bought by her for a few yards of calico and baptized in their last moments. She was born with the nineteenth century, received the religious habit in 1826, and died on August 5, 1899, being then

21. The Rev. P. J. De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries* (New York, 1859), p. 360, Letter XXVIII.

22. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1850, pp. 35, 36, 1853, p. 381; see Owens, *op. cit.*, appendix, sec. IV, ch. 6.

23. Graves, *Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*, pp. 273, 274.

in her hundredth year. War excitement, failure and success all combined to make her life at the mission an interesting one. Drought, grasshoppers, disease and many other afflictions had to be overcome. Sometimes it was an epidemic like black measles. In 1852 a traveling Indian stopped for the night at the mission. He was infected with this dread disease and communicated it to the boys at St. Francis Institute. Soon it spread to the girls' division. More than half the girls became ill. As soon as the Osages heard of it they ran to the convent, wailing and accusing the sisters of having neglected the children. Many of them snatched their sick children from their beds and rushed with them to Flat Rock creek where they bathed them. In consequence some of them died. This caused the excitement of the Indians to become greater and it reached such a pitch that they threatened to kill the sisters and the priests and set fire to the mission. Father Schoenmakers had some brothers watching constantly. But soon the Indians noticed that the children whom they had left with the sisters had recovered, whereas many of those they had removed had died. Their confidence in the sisters gradually returned and they brought back the children. By May 1 order was again restored and work was resumed.²⁴

As soon as the ravages of the epidemic disappeared the mission school again began to prosper. The season of 1853 was favorable and soon the financial condition of the manual labor school was reassured. More pupils were enrolled and several buildings were added.

Two years before the measles epidemic, the Quapaw Indians had applied for permission to send their children to the school. Limited quarters and low resources caused Father Schoenmakers to refuse permission at first, but when they again petitioned him he told them he would not act until they had obtained the consent of the Osages. The Osages were willing that the permission be given. Father Schoenmakers then took up the matter with the commissioner of Indian affairs on May 20, 1853.²⁵ In the report sent by Father Schoenmakers on September 1, 1853, to Maj. A. J. Dorn, Neosho Indian agent, we read that the United States government did transfer the Quapaw school to the Osage Manual Labor School with good results.²⁶ In a later report, September 1, 1854, Father Schoenmakers expressed his regret that "the Quapaw parents do occasionally call

24. See letter written by Father Ponziglione to Sister Coaina Mongrain, "Interesting Memoirs," bk. IV, 1852, A. St. L. U.

25. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1853, p. 378; W. W. Graves, *Life and Letters of Rev. Father John Schoenmakers S. J.* (Parsons, 1928), pp. 40, 41.

26. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1853, pp. 256, 378, 380.

their children home, without sending them back to school at the stipulated time; these have not made such advances as might be rightfully expected, if they had regularly attended school. . . ." ²⁷ In the annual report of August 25, 1857, from Father Schoenmakers to Major Dorn we find an interesting list of the names of the female Osage and Quapaw children in attendance at Osage Mission Manual Labor School at this time.²⁸

The discipline at the Osage Mission school was often a problem. To give a correction meant trouble. One day Sister Mary Bridget Hayden was trying to conquer an Indian girl, when the father of the child appeared. The child was glad to see her father at that moment, feeling it meant triumph for her, but when she saw him take out his tomahawk to use it on the Loretine she was frightened and begged him not to hurt her loved teacher. The child explained that she had misbehaved and that the sister was trying to correct her for her misdemeanor. The Indian replaced his tomahawk, assuring the sister that he would never hurt her for trying to make a good girl of his child.²⁹

Sister Mary Bridget succeeded Mother Concordia Henning as superior of the mission in 1859. She was Margaret Hayden, the third daughter of Thomas and Bridget Hart Hayden. She was born in Kilkenny, Ireland, on August 26, 1814. Her first mission was at Ste. Genevieve, Mo., and later she was missioned at Loretto, Ky., where she was stationed in 1847 before going to the Kansas mission.

The first two years of her superiorship passed off in a quiet way, but in 1861 she found herself and her community in a very dangerous position on account of the Civil War. The mission stood exactly on the line dividing the two belligerents. The nearest town to which they might have applied for aid was 40 miles distant. Guerrilla parties passed almost daily in front of the mission and frequently called on the sisters either for food or medicine. At times, made bold by the mission's unprotected position, they were rough, insulting and threatening.

The Osage Manual Labor School, insofar as the Osages were concerned, began to decline with the opening of the Civil War. Major Dorn, the former United States agent among the Osages, and a friend of Father Schoenmakers, was a Southern man and tried to persuade the Osages to join the Southern armies. Father Schoenmakers was intensely loyal to the Union and tried to hold the

27. *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 333.

28. *Ibid.*, 1857, p. 209; see, also, Owens, *op. cit.*, appendix, sec. IV, ch. 6.

29. See Anna C. Minogue, *Loretto; Annals of the Century*, pp. 132, 133.

Osages for the North or at least to have them remain neutral. Many of the Osage warriors who lived near the mission and who came under its influence enlisted in the Union army. Those of the Black Dog band that went south lived on the Verdigris and farther West.³⁰

One day a messenger brought word that soldiers were on their way to burn the mission and kill Father Schoenmakers.³¹ The priests and sisters went to the church to pray for protection. A heavy rain came which continued through the night, allowing Father Schoenmakers time to make his escape as far as Humboldt, Kan. Many of the church articles had been removed to St. Mary's, Kansas—for safe-keeping. The Religious of the Sacred Heart had invited the sisters to live with them until the trouble abated; but they preferred not to abandon their Indian children. When the rain ceased another company of soldiers came to rob the mission. After they had looked around one of the men said: "Oh, come away, there is nothing here but poverty." The parting gift of the soldiers was smallpox. Among the girls 39 were down at one time. Notwithstanding the long hours the sisters spent nursing these stricken children, they were never infected.³²

Many of the Osages who farmed near the mission, seeing that the troops respected no property, packed up and went farther west, leaving the sisters and the priests to their fate. Twice one party attacked the other on the sisters' premises. Although all the Indian missions existing between Osage Mission and Texas were destroyed Father Schoenmakers' village was spared.

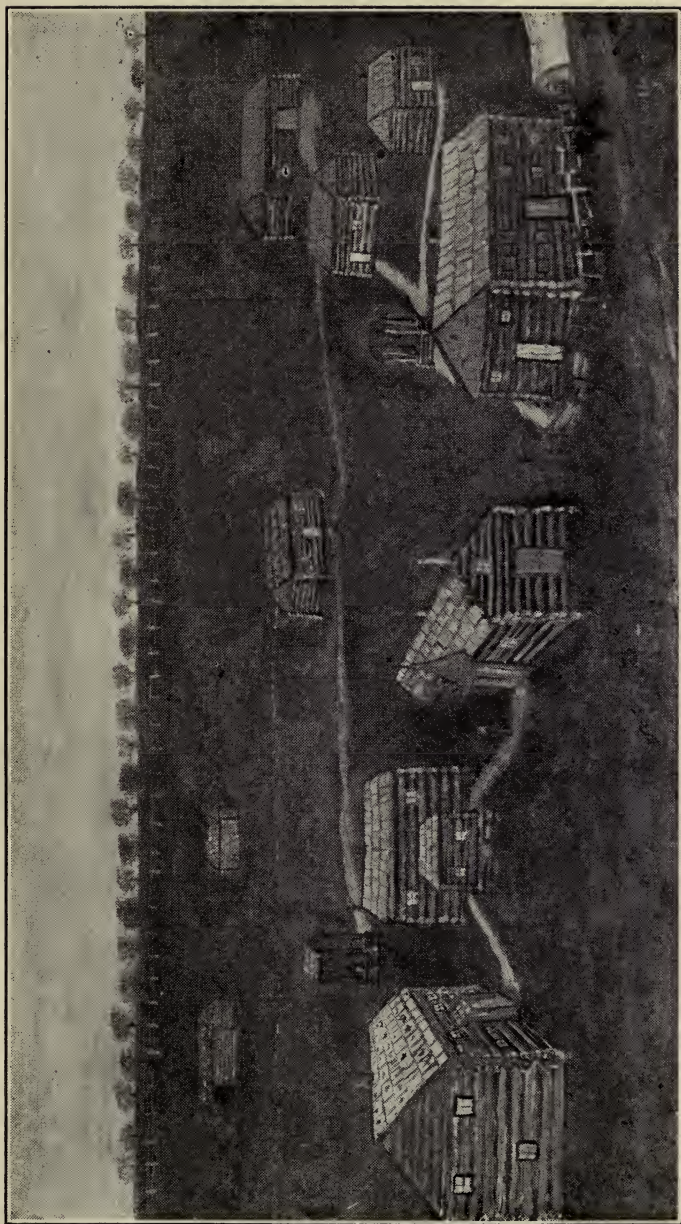
By the treaty which the Osages made with the government in 1865 they gave up a large portion of their lands in Kansas and agreed to move to a new reservation in the Indian territory, now Oklahoma. At that time most of the Indians withdrew their children from the manual labor school. The priests and sisters were not allowed to follow the Osages, and the school came to an end.

For 22 years they had lived in poor but comfortable log houses, to which Father Schoenmakers had kept adding as the years went on. The first building of any pretensions was erected in 1869. It was a two-story frame building known as St. Francis' hall. The lower story was used for a library and reading room. The second

30. This and other events affecting the school are told in the official report of W. G. Coffin, superintendent of Indian affairs, southern superintendency, October 15, 1862, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1862, p. 137.

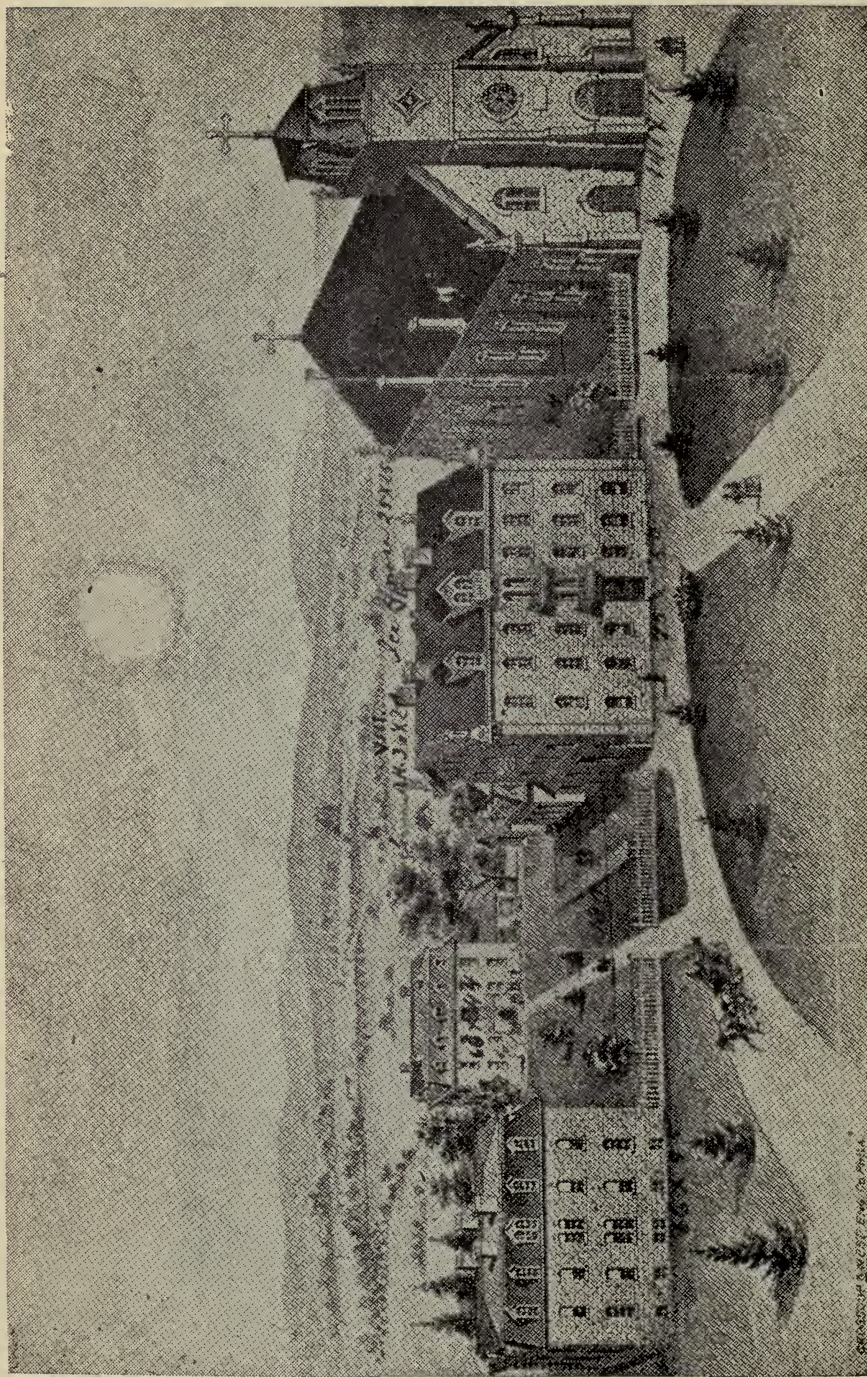
31. Ponziglione, "Interesting Memoirs."

32. Account on file in the archives of the Loretto mother house. Hereinafter this will be cited A. L. M.



Courtesy W. W. Graves, St. Paul

CATHOLIC MISSION IN 1865, FROM A SKETCH MADE FROM MEMORY BY CHARLES
BEECHWOOD, FIRST WHITE PUPIL AT THE SCHOOL



Courtesy Mary Joyce, St. Paul

ST. FRANCIS PARISH AT OSAGE MISSION (NOW ST. PAUL) FIFTY YEARS AGO

story was used as an assembly hall. In later years this building became a parish school for girls who were not financially able to attend the academy. After St. Francis Institute, locally known as the college, was suspended, it was used as a local school for boys. Today it forms a part of the barn which houses the cattle on the Passionist Monastery farm.³³ Later, as the country became settled, Father Schoenmakers built a stone house 75 by 50 feet and three stories in height. In 1870 he deeded this to the Sisters of Loretto, together with 100 acres of land and the animals and implements necessary to run a large farm.³⁴

In 1871 the stone building which was to be used as the home of the Jesuit Fathers was begun. It was four stories high, built of gray sandstone and for many years was considered the finest building in southeastern Kansas. The fourth floor of this building was used as a dormitory. The stone college building was begun in 1872 and opened in 1873. In this building were the classrooms of the St. Francis Institute. After the institution was closed in 1891 the building remained vacant until the burning of St. Ann's Academy in 1895, when it became the temporary convent for the Sisters of Loretto. Later it became the parochial school for boys and girls and served this purpose until it was destroyed by fire in 1922.

On August 17, 1870, the Sisters of Loretto organized to incorporate their institution as St. Ann's Academy.³⁵

The Rev. James H. Defouri has this to say of the work that was done in the Catholic manual labor schools in Kansas:

In September 1855 Right Reverend Bishop Miége took to himself Father Hieman,³⁶ who had now been for six years at the Mission. During this time he had so well organized the schools that the children were the delight of all who saw them. Their modesty and good behavior, along with their progress was remarkable. Twice a year they gave public exhibitions, that were well attended by all the Indians and Whites. . . .³⁷

Arthur Thomas Donohue says:

The schools at the Osage Mission were well established and prosperous in the year of 1854. The Indian girls took peculiar delight in all kinds of needlework, drawing and fancy work. They were more industrious than the boys,

33. According to Graves, *Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*, p. 204, and the word of the parishioners who were living at the mission at this time this was the first public library established in Neosho county, and perhaps in southeastern Kansas.

34. See "Indenture" made on October 3, 1870, in appendix, sec. IV, ch. 6, Owens, *op. cit.*

35. State of Kansas, Secretary of State, "Corporations," v. 2, pp. 572, 573, in Kansas State Historical Society archives. See "Deeds," bk. C, pp. 423, 424, register of deeds, Neosho county; see, also, appendix, sec. IV, ch. 6, Owens, *op. cit.*, under document of separation (in handwriting of Father Schoenmakers, S. J.).

36. See Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, S. C. L., "John Baptist Miego, S. J., 1815-1844," in *Historical Records and Studies* (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1934), v. 24, p. 322.

37. See "Papers of Mngr. Jos. A. Shorter," Holy Epiphany Convent, Leavenworth.

and always manifested a willingness to do any kind of work required by their teachers. . . .

After the Indian girls had remained two years at school, their manners had improved greatly. They were more amiable, paternal love and affection had increased. But while the parents and relatives took pride in the acquirements of these children, they often withdrew them from the school to use them as interpreters, to glory in their improvements, or to receive imaginary services from them. During a few days absence from school they would grow indolent, and some would resume their original mulish dispositions. Their pride being increased by the flattery of relatives, they would return, disobedient to parents and teachers, and would abandon school before having obtained an education. . . .³⁸

Of the work of Mother Bridget, Father Ponziglione wrote to John R. Brunt:

Your favor of the 25th inst. came at hand this morning, all that I can say in reply is that I first got acquainted with Mother Bridget in the summer of 1851, when I reached Osage Mission, and since that day I saw in her but the same enterprising, intelligent and devout lady she proved herself to be all her lifetime. The good Mother had an untold amount of labor and suffering, which she might of well avoided, but she taxed herself willingly with them for the sake of the poor Indian girls entrusted to her care. She did at all times show herself a mother to them, and indeed a most affectionate one. All her energy was devoted to remove from them their evil and wild habits, and remold, as it were, their hearts, excite in them most pure and noble inspirations, in a word trying to inspire in them a part of that great love of God of which her own heart was full, and praise be to truth, surely she was a great part. I say a great part, for it is not preferable in speaking of the education of wild children, one may change or better the nature of all those who are brot to be educated, but in spite of all this she always had a powerful influence over them all, even the most wild, whom if she could not correct, at least she kept from becoming worse. The knowledge and culture which through her indefatigable care was imparted to the Indian girls she did raise is now producing its fruits in the intelligence, good manners, cleanliness, and good religious spirit, which this very day can be noticed in the many Osage half-breed ladies living on the different nice settlements this nation has formed in the Indian Territory. The ladylike behavior which those, once her pupils, do show at present prove to evidence that her labors were not lost.

To what concerns her enterprising spirit, I do not need to say any thing, the nice buildings, and the elegant grounds that surround St. Ann's Academy speak for themselves, and are a living monument of the great genius she had, and show how able she was for the charge of Superior she held for so many years over her flourishing Convent. She has now gone. May her beautiful soul rest in peace. Her remains shall moulder in the Convent's cemetery, but her memory—O, this shall last for many years to come, and her name shall be a home name to a great many not only in Neosho County, but way yonder in the Indian territory, and from both places for many years loving lips shall

38. "A History of the Early Jesuit Missions in Kansas," pp. 93, 94, manuscript in the archives of the University of Kansas, Lawrence; microfilm copy in Kansas State Historical Society.

pronounce her name with gratitude, and devout hearts will offer up fervent prayers for her soul.³⁹

Noble L. Prentis visited Osage Mission in 1870. When Mother Bridget died in 1890 he recalled this visit and paid the following tribute to the co-worker of Father Schoenmakers and Father Ponziglione:

She was a woman of commanding look, and spoke in a firm, resolute but quiet way, as one should, accustomed to impress herself on human creatures brought to her as wild as any bird or beast in all their native prairies; this she had done and more—she had gained their affections. The conversation which she held at once took a religious turn, and the listener would be very ungrateful if he did not remember that Mother Bridget, as well she might from the privilege of her years, spoke to him like a mother indeed, not of churches and creeds, but of the necessity of personal righteousness.⁴⁰

It is interesting to note the pleasant relations that existed between the Sisters of Loretto and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. The baking for both establishments was cared for by the sisters.⁴¹ Four times a year the fathers went in a caravan to St. Louis for provisions and dry goods. In 1888 the Jesuits received word to concentrate their forces, but the final arrangements to withdraw were not made until August 14, 1892. On this date Osage Mission was turned over to the care of the Right Rev. Bishop Fink of Leavenworth, who placed two secular priests in charge. A few years later the mission again changed hands, when the sons of St. Paul of the Cross, the Passionists, established themselves there. The advance guard comprising Fathers Sebastian and Raymond took charge on February 11, 1894. A few months later the community was recruited by Father Boniface and several other members of the Order.

In September, 1895, the school opened with what seemed to be the most promising prospects in its history. But on September 3 it caught fire, and in a few hours what had cost thousands of dollars and many years of labor and sacrifice was a mass of smoldering ruins with only \$16,000 insurance to cover the loss. This was a staggering blow to the sisters and they did not feel able to rebuild the academy.⁴²

During the years the Loretines labored in the mission⁴³ seven-

39. The letter was preserved by Mr. Brunt. At the time of his death it was given to W. W. Graves of St. Paul. A copy of it appeared in the *St. Paul Journal*, September 18, 1930.

40. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 23.

41. See appendix, sec. IV, ch. 6, Owens, *op. cit.*

42. Correspondence on file in A. L. M. See, also, the letter written by Father Raymond O'Keefe to J. J. Owens, dated May 21, 1897, now on file in *ibid.*

43. There have been more than 200 religious vocations from the little town on the banks of the Neosho river and 72 of these are Loretines.—See appendix, sec. IV, ch. 6, Owens, *op. cit.*

teen of their members died and were buried in a little cemetery back of the academy. The Passionist Fathers, who had come to St. Paul in 1894⁴⁴ while the Sisters of Loretto were still there, felt that the graves of the sisters were deserving of more honor than could be shown them where they were resting. It was decided to obtain permission to disinter the bodies and to move them to a plot in the parish cemetery.⁴⁵ This was done in 1930. The remains were carefully dug up by the men of the parish, the identity of each was noted and the bones were placed in separate caskets. The first sister had been buried in 1867 and the last in 1895. Little remained of the bodies except the bones. The diggers found evidences of many habits with the red scapulars formerly worn by the Lorettes sewed on the front. In only one case was the habit in a condition to be taken up. This one exception was the body of Mother Bridget Hayden. The lower part of her casket remained and her body was in a remarkable state of preservation. The remains were taken to the basement chapel of the parish church and for two weeks the people came from miles around to view them. A plate of false teeth found in one of the graves was a curiosity, especially for the dentists, for it looked as though it had only recently been made. In one grave was found preserved the brains of a sister, darkened and shrunken but otherwise intact. Some of the skulls were whole while many were in pieces.

The first burial had been made from a hurriedly-built mission church. The second burial took place on September 15, 1930, from the structure that rears its steeple above the prairies, a living monument to these early Jesuit missionaries. The priests and people present were proud to take part in the event which they felt was a belated honor to the group of religious who had not only endeared themselves to the people of Kansas but had made *Catholic History* in the West.

44. The name Osage Mission had been changed to St. Paul soon after the arrival of the Passionist Fathers. It was done in order to boom the town, business men felt that the name Osage Mission carried the idea that the town was still surrounded by red men.

45. Correspondence on file in A. L. M.

Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864

PART TWO, 1857

LAWRENCE, K. T., Jan. 4th, 1857.

DEAR DEMOCRAT³⁶.—Most heartily do we wish thee, and thy readers, scattered o'er our dear native hills, a "*happy new year*." From this far-off land, we greet thee with a thousand good wishes, for thy future prosperity. Thy sympathy with the *oppressed and suffering*, of this, our adopted home, excites our warmest gratitude. . . .

We had designed, Mr. Editor, that our friends in New Hampshire should have a semi-weekly communication from Lawrence, knowing the anxiety they feel in our behalf; but the *ague*, that most vexing of all diseases, with which it has been our lot to contend, has had our entire *family* in his iron grasp, and we have *shaken to our heart's content*. Let none be dissuaded from coming to Kansas by this formidable enemy, for he *can be conquered*, and then the victor feels an entire renovation, if not re-organization! Your valuable correspondent, P. H. Townsend,³⁷ has kept you pretty well posted with regard to matters, in general, in his particular locality, but one item, in which we feel a deep interest, that has occupied much of our time for weeks past, (we mean supplying the destitute) we wish to lay before your readers. And, we wish it distinctly understood, that the destitution and suffering in Kansas, *has not been*, and we think *cannot be, over-rated*! Our position as *receiver and distributor* of boxes of clothing, forwarded by the ladies in Chicago, Ill., has brought us in close proximity with such objects of distress, as we cannot well describe, and has daily stirred the depths of our finer feelings; and where *one* garment has been received and distributed, one hundred *more* have been needed to supply the demand, and when the boxes have been emptied, our own trunks have been *searched*, and our own ward robe examined again and again, to see what more could be spared for those more needy than ourselves. We will give the history of yesterday, and it may serve as a specimen of what has occurred in our dwelling, almost daily, in some shape, for weeks past. At an early hour before breakfast, a man

36. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

37. P. H. Townsend came from New Hampshire to Kansas in the spring of 1856 and settled at Big Springs. He was prominent in the political affairs of the territory and served in the territorial legislature of 1859. He wrote for *The Independent Democrat* of Concord, N. H.—Lawrence *Republican*, February 10, 1859.

in rags, with woe-begone looks and visage, entered our door, seated himself by the stove, it being a bitter cold morning, and began to weep. As soon as he could overcome his emotion, (he evidently had seen "better days," and was unused to asking relief) he told his sad tale. He was sixty miles from home—no money, nothing to feed his team with, his poor family, from whom he had been absent a long time, he feared, had been greatly suffering. An order for ten dollars removed a heavy burden from the poor man's heart, and he left with a lighter step! Next, in order, came two poor Methodist preachers, from the extreme parts of the Territory, to get clothing to keep them from freezing, as they travelled over these vast prairies thinly clad, to tell the story of the Cross to eager listeners, in rude cabins.—One had lost the most of his clothing by ruffian hands, at the sacking of Lawrence. We had *nothing* to give, and they were dismissed with the promise that "some clothing should be sent to them," as the "Committee rooms" were empty, "if any could be procured."—Now a man and his son, both heads of families, formerly from Massachusetts, are announced: they, too, with elongated phiz, commence their narration. The house of one had been burned, with all its contents, and the family of the other were suffering for clothing and provisions. Now comes a man with, perhaps, a pleasing countenance and eagle eye, that looks as though he might face death itself, and not flinch. How pertly his pony minces, as he dismounts, and with elastic step, wrapped in his Indian blanket, approaches our door! This is John A. Bailey, the hero of Washington Creek. Now listen, as he tells his tale, over which I had wept, when I read it in the Tribune. He was met on the road by a horde of ruffians, his team taken from him, and, when stripped of all his clothing, but his pants, he was told to take *them* off, "lest they would be stained with his blood, and thereby be unfitted for their use." "*Never,*" said he, "*I'll never part with them but with my life.*" The cowardly crew then told him to count six paces from them, that they might take good aim at his heart. He did so, and at every step prayed to the Great Deliverer for help! They then fired, and one ball entered his side near his heart, where it still remains! As he fell, all but two mounted their mules and fled, leaving two to strip the body!

Strange to tell, he prayed not in vain; for in his extremity, the God of Daniel rescued his servant, who had trusted in Him for many years, and gave him strength and courage, to grapple with his murderous foe, as he ran to him with uplifted rifle, to beat out his brains. By a miraculous power he conquered both, and by hiding

in the tall grass, finally escaped alive—his team he never recovered. From easy circumstances in life, he was reduced to the necessity of asking aid—clothing and provisions.

Supper is on the table, when a gray-haired man must be fed, who had borrowed money of his neighbors, and come from Ogden, near Fort Riley, a distance of about 100 miles, with a team after help for his family and his neighbors. And O! such a recapitulation—sickness and poverty. O dear! thought I, *must I have no rest on the Sabbath?* For, be it known to you, Mr. Editor, and the rest of mankind, minister's wives get tired of being constantly waiting on others for weeks and months in succession, while they are obliged to do, in addition, the entire work of their own household. Thus endeth the chapter.

Mr. Townsend,³⁸ of Big Springs, called a few days since, to get supplies to distribute in the vicinity where he is teaching, and some cases of a very affecting character had come to his knowledge. A little boy walked five miles, with his feet almost bare, on the frozen ground, to beg of him for help for the suffering family. Mr. T., from his own purse, got him a pair of boots, and if any in New-Hampshire have a surplus of clothing, let them come to Kansas, and I'll vouch for them, they'll not *long* have a redundancy, unless they are made of harder materials than some who have come from Yankeedom. We have HEARD that considerable money and valuable clothing have come from New Hampshire, but have SEEN none, save the articles that were sent from Dover, N. H., to Rev. E. Nute, for our individual benefit. O how a feeling undefinable, welled up from our hearts, that made our eyes moist, and our voice husky, as we received them, as evidence that we were remembered, though far away. *Heaven bless the donors!* Dear old Granite State, how we love thee, and any thing from thee is doubly dear.

Yours respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Jan. 5, 1857.

MR. EDITOR³⁹:—. . . You are doubtless, Mr. Editor, well advised in relation to Kansas matters in general, but one error we observe in public papers we wish to correct; that in regard to the wants of the destitute in Kansas being fully supplied for the present winter. Sir, the suffering for want of comfortable dwellings, clothing, food, &c., cannot well be exaggerated. A very hard heart could

38. Probably P. H. Townsend. See Footnote 37.

39. *Granite State Whig*, Lebanon, N. H.

not fail to be moved at what *we* have almost daily seen and heard for weeks past. But a tithe in money or clothing, either, has been sent to meet the constant demands of the destitute and suffering. One hundred and forty boxes of clothing are delayed at different points on the Missouri River, to be sent on at the opening of navigation in the Spring, all of which is at this moment needed, to shield shivering limbs in ill-provided cabins. What *has been* received has been of great service, for which in behalf of the suffering poor, we would return our hearty thanks. It has proved a very God send—and literally saved those who were ready to perish.

How much has my own dear Lebanon contributed, and to whose care has it been sent?—How have I longed in distributing second-hand garments sent to our care from Chicago, to say to some of the half-naked ones,—“Here is a coat or vest for you from the Ladies of my own native town, or a pair of warm socks, knit by busy fingers from wool that grew on sheep that grazed on those very old hills, o’er which I used to romp in childish glee—Well, I doubt not some-body has received your contributions if I have not. Some of those noble souls who have perilled their all and lost most of all their earthly possessions, in battling the slave-demon in Kansas, we doubt not, have been fed and clothed from my native town.

All, just now, seem to be in good spirits and full of hope, despite their unsupplied wants.—All is quiet in the Territory and promises to remain so. Our friends who design to come to Kansas, should start early in March if they wish to secure choice claims. No danger need be apprehended from the Missourians. Our Governor, we think, is doing as fast in the way of restoring the reign of order and protection, as, under all the circumstances, would be deemed judicious.—[Wilson] Shannon—the wretch!—has lately been in the Territory, to settle up matters in which he was concerned. Mr. Lovejoy dined with this ex-official at Gov. [John W.] Geary’s table a few days since, and he (Shannon) hardly presumed to look up and meet the eye of any of the company—so guilty he seemed to feel. After he had left the room, Gov. Geary remarked, that “if Shannon had done his duty things would not be in such a state in the Territory as they now are.” The future course of Gov. Geary will be watched with great interest and anxiety.

Most of the prisoners have escaped from their Bastile.⁴⁰ With regard to the weather, it was delightful the most of December, but it has now grown intensely cold with only a sprinkling of snow. Prop-

40. Free-State prisoners who were imprisoned at Leecompton.

erty is rising rapidly in value in the Territory, and in Manhattan and Lawrence, especially. Eight lots in Lawrence that were bought a few weeks ago for \$200, would now readily bring \$500. Men of wealth are coming in, this winter and investing their money in Lawrence, to get ahead of their neighbors, who will delay until navigation opens in the Spring. Claims cannot be had for a *small sum* in the vicinity of Lawrence, and I wish to say to our friends in New Hampshire, one and all, we have never regretted coming to Kansas, only in regard to the death of our dear child. We have never wavered—never flinched—not even when three times in twenty four hours, we were compelled to flee from our house, to prevent hit by the balls of the enemy their cannon being planted in a direction directly to rake our dwelling. If we were not already in Kansas, knowing what we now do of the Territory, we should make a strong effort to embark on board of the *first* boat that ploughs the turbid waters of the “mad Missouri,” next Spring. Let *us* have a hand in raising and protecting the tree of Liberty on this virgin soil, is our prayer.

We know nothing of the truth of the statement we see in some of the Eastern papers, relative to an alleged dishonest appropriation of money and clothing contributed for the relief of our needy and suffering settlers. At a recent public meeting, Rev. E. Nute, S. Y. Lum, G. W. Hutchinson and C. H. Lovejoy, clergyman of Lawrence, were chosen a committee to seek out the needy and give orders on the Treasurer to all applicants, known to be suffering while the relief of funds held out. The clergymen have no remuneration for their services. Would that our Lebanon friends could listen to the tales of distress that salute our ears almost daily, we could fill a volume that would bring tears to eyes unused to weeping.—If any have friends in Kansas to whom they wish to send clothing, let them box it up and direct to the name and residence of the individual to whom sent, and to the care of W. F. Arney,⁴¹ Chicago, and it will no doubt be forwarded safely. If money is to be sent, a *check* should always be used.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

FROM KANSAS.—The following is from the wife of a Clergyman with whom we are personally acquainted. By this we see that the demands for aid in Kansas among the suffering, are not yet supplied. Where is our State appropriation? We hope the supplies will be prompt.—ED. ADVOCATE.⁴²

41. W. F. M. Arney, general agent, National Kansas Committee.

42. *Northeastern Christian Advocate*.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Jan. 5, 1857.

BROTHER ROSE:—We have long designed to write to you from this far-off land, for your little sheet, you have so kindly forwarded to our address, but duties of no ordinary character have prevented until now. In our heart, we wish you, and all our dear Green Mountain friends "a happy New Year." It is doubtless known to you and your readers, from letters written for different Eastern papers, that one year and nine months ago, we left our home among the Granite Hills, and took up the line of march for Kansas—the spot that we used to point out in our school-girl days, on Morse's old yellow covered Atlas, as "the Great American Desert, inhabited by buffalo, and roving tribes of Indians,"—*this spot we have found, an Eden naturally, a garden in very deed, into which Satan, in the garb of Border Ruffianism, has stealthily crept, and the blood of our murdered brethren cries to Heaven, to avenge their tragic death!* Sir, the graves of butchered victims, that "sleep the sleep that knows no waking," on the plains of Kansas, will never be counted up, until the "sea shall deliver up its dead." Only a *tithe* of the robbery and murder of Free State men, unoffending citizens, has ever reached the public prints. It has been our lot, to live through the entire "reign of terror" and the horrors of the scenes, through which we passed, *have not been*, and we think *cannot* be exaggerated! Take for instance weeks previous to the last memorable invasion of the 14th of September, when almost every man you met was armed with deadly weapons, on which he slept at night, to be ready at a moment's warning, not knowing but in dead of night, his house might be fired, and his family butchered before his eyes, by cut-throat assassins! The never-to-be-forgotten 14th of September, was ushered in, and as it was God's holy day, our people assembled in their tent, the usual place of worship, and anticipated a day of quiet, after such stirring scenes, through which they had passed, that had entirely broken up religious meetings. When the services were nearly finished for the forenoon, Dr. Still⁴³ of South Kansas District, came in hot haste, and told the people that "*the prairies near the Wakarusa were swarming with armed men.*" Who wonders that prayers went up to the Great Deliverer for help, in this extremity? For, far as human view could scan, none but Daniel's God could deliver, as Lawrence was *entirely* evacuated by our brave troops, who had gone too far to be recalled, and not 200 fighting men could be rallied to face 3000 incarnate fiends, spurred on by the whiskey-demon to burn every

43. Probably Dr. A. T. Still, the founder of osteopathy, then a resident of southern Douglas county.

house in this devoted town, and to destroy the whole Abolition crew! Even children "over six months *must be murdered*," as the Rev. Mr. Bird, a Congregationalist minister, a prisoner in their camp, affirms they told him was agreed upon, as their blood would be tainted with abolitionism! What good old Quaker, of the Democratic stamp, on the shores of old Champlain, would not *fight* under such circumstances, that their pure-minded wives and daughters should not be robbed of the brightest jewel in their coronet, and their sons slain in cold blood? Ah! methinks old broad-brim, of the *straightest* jacket, would exclaim in such *an hour*, to such a ruffian-horde, "if thou so greatly *desirest* to *smell* powder, thou shalt surely be gratified to the full!"—Lawrence at that time, was the rendezvous of clergymen, of every order in the Territory, who had fled from their several charges here for protection, and every minister who *could* procure a rifle was *armed with one*. Said my good husband, scarcely recovered from fever, "*never did I feel like fighting*, until I saw that army coming upon us." He stood on the brow of the hill, just back of our dwelling, when the advanced guard of the Missourians, two hundred strong, and our brave boys, just sixty in number, came in collision, and with heart uplifted, prayed to the God of Heaven, to *smite* our enemies.

Never until that awful hour, did I see man meet his fellow man in mortal combat. Whilst fleeing from our house, as I did *three times* in twenty-four hours, with my child in my arms, to prevent being shot by cannon balls, I was in full view of the battle. 'Twas a sight sublime, to witness the *bravery* of our boys, in pouring volley after volley of Sharpe's rifles in their ranks, while they confusedly huddled together, to prevent being hit, *cowards to the last*, as they have always proved *themselves to be*. Heaven *miraculously*, it has seemed to us, interposed, and we were saved that time.

One item we wish to lay before your readers, Mr. Editor, with regard to the suffering and destitution of the people in the Territory this Winter. Our position has brought us into close proximity with *such* an amount of suffering as we cannot describe with pen. Families suffering in poor floorless cabins, for food and clothing. What *has been* distributed has gladdened many a heart—but where *one* garment has *been given* away to cover shivering limbs, one hundred *more* is *needed* to supply the demand. Where *one* sack of flour has *been sent*, one hundred are *wanted* to keep the people from *suffering*, if not from perishing for food.—Large sums of money sent to Kansas for the *needy*, have *never been received by them*. The fault rests

somewhere, and the *poor* must suffer in consequence. O that our friends in the East would select some one *known* to have the fear of God and the day of retribution, before his eyes, and confide to him some of the funds, or send *direct to the individuals*, whom you wish to help, if money, a "check" on any good Western Bank, if clothing, put the *name of the individual*, who is to receive them, or to the care of *some man known* to be *reliable*, on *the box*, or barrel, and direct to the care of W. F. Army, Chicago, that every poor soul may receive what is sent them by their friends.

Yours, respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Jan. 22, 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS ⁴⁴:—You have doubtless ere this (with eyes almost protruding from their sockets with wonder and astonishment) read our Governor's late message,⁴⁵ that has set the slave-ocrats at Lecompton, and the fire-eaters from Missouri, attending that famous convocation, the bogus Legislature, now in session at that place, to raving and cursing like madmen; and if their threats are carried into execution, Kansas will soon be minus of a Governor, and His Excellency might well envy the fate of poor "Kirwan," of papal notoriety, who has, by the Holy Father, been thoroughly and *throughout* cursed with "bell, book and candle," in soul and in body, in *life*, and *doomed* to the fires of purgatory *evermore!* We deprecate his fate, but have little doubt notwithstanding, that he will yet live to write the "history of Kansas and border-ruffianism run mad!" Could you, friend Fogg, for a few moments steal away from your quiet sanctum, and find yourself in our little city, you might imagine yourself at once jostled by the crowds in Broadway, N. Y., or on one of the *quays* of Boston. Such crowds are thronging the streets, and such briskness in business-matters, on every hand; or like Don Quixote, rub your eyes and wonder how long you had been napping. Hear the hammer of the auctioneer, whilst with stentorian lungs he crieth lustily, those ominous words, on which, perchance, hangs the destiny of some gaping wight, who, with distended jaws and arms ensconced to the elbows, in those huge pockets, eyes the auctioneer, as ever and anon recur those fatal words; that, like a death-knell to his hopes, fall upon his ear, "*Going, going, GONE!*" What on *airth*, cries Mrs. Partington, have them Lawrence folks to vendue

44. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H., February 12, 1857.

45. Governor Geary's message to the legislature.

off, when they are freezing and starving? Why, madam, we have all kinds of furniture direct from St. Louis, of the most expensive manufacture, of mahogany and black walnut, crockery and house-furnishing goods of almost any kind you want; for, know you, though there is an unparalleled state of suffering with the *unsupplied poor*, speculators are here with their money this winter, from different parts of the Union, and such a mania for "city stock" in the different localities in this Territory, is seldom seen, save in the "Great West," where cities spring up by magic. Lots here are four times the value they were a few weeks since. A friend sold four "shares" of Manhattan "stock" for forty dollars; the same "shares" are now worth four hundred dollars! In Wyandot, Quindaro, Ham[p]den, Columbus and some other places, speculators are clearing their thousands, and still property is rapidly rising.—Claims in the vicinity of Lawrence are held very high, some as high as \$5000, and speculators foreseeing the unprecedented tide of emigration that will set in upon Kansas, when Spring opens, have got ahead, and almost daily arrivals show the increase of population, and *still there is room!*

Did those sturdy, hard-working farmers, that are the pride and glory of the old Granite State, know the *advantages* of a farm in Kansas, 10,000 would be missing at the polls next March, and would be en route for this inviting country. Ah! Sirs; if we were not already here, we would get aboard the first steamer, (even though we could procure no other than a deck-passage, and be under the necessity of travelling incognito, Reeder-like⁴⁶) that leaves the wharves of St. Louis bound for Kansas! What, though we have lived for months in a cabin, without floors or windows, where the rain has stood in pools on the bed. What harm has accrued, though the snakes, as large as an old-fashioned chair post have been so very friendly as to crawl through the interstices of our cabin, to see what we Yankees were about—a rap on the head has soon rendered them perfectly harmless, and taught them never again, uninvited, to intrude upon strangers. What though a huge rattlesnake was found, when the cover was removed, snugly coiled up under my bed, where I had slept sweetly a few hours before, and still another, with beautiful vest, peering with sparkling eyes from a cupboard, suspended over my bed, where my babe lay sleeping, not

46. Former Gov. Andrew H. Reeder escaped his Proslavery pursuers in May, 1856, by disguising himself as an Irish laborer before taking passage on a Missouri river steamboat.—"Governor Reeder's Escape From Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 3, pp. 205-223.

dreaming he was so noiselessly watched by such an intruder, who had unseen glided to his hiding-place.

Do we not still retain our identity, tho' we have lived on "corn-bread and bacon," until the very sight of a four-legged rooter would almost give us "spasms"?

One of these days, we design to give the little folks in New Hampshire some wonderful stories of hair-breadth escapes from a wildcat, fearful, and yet ludicrous, in which we were concerned. If they will wait patiently, the story shall be forth-coming.

We would like, with trumpet-voice, to tell the ladies of Acworth and Manchester, N. H., in behalf of the suffering poor, whose wants can now be supplied from their liberality, how glad the arrival of boxes of clothing from those places have made our hearts.

When Mr. Arney⁴⁷ left here to return East, he found that scores who had applied for clothing, and there was *none* for them, must suffer unless help came from some source.—On his way down the Missouri river, he found boxes lodged on account of navigation closing up. These boxes, with commendable zeal, he has found means to send here, and last night Mr. Lovejoy, who devotes himself without charge, almost entirely to relieving the poor, came home from town, where the goods are deposited, and with glistening eye drew from his pocket papers he found in the boxes—two in the Manchester boxes from Mrs. Chapin, President of the M. K. A. S. A thousand blessings on your head, my dear Mrs. Chapin, and those noble ladies who *pulled* their very bonnets from their heads, *as good*, if not indeed quite, *as new*! We have not seen them, but our husband being judge, they are *very* nice and *very* beautiful. Only think, Mr. Editor, a whole box of bonnets from Manchester! Now look at that big box of boots and shoes from the same place. Now dive into that long-legged boot, and see what you will *fish* up! Try again; there is *another* and still *another* pair of those nice socks, and yarn enough to darn them when they come to mending. And the shoes are stuffed with the same timely articles! We don't wonder you involuntarily ejaculate, "Heaven bless the kind donors!" How many frost-bitten feet will now be made comfortable!

You may think us unpardonably foolish, Sir, but anything that comes from our own State is doubly dear to us, and how earnestly we craved one of those New Hampshire bonnets we dare not tell here. Mr. L., who now has charge of these goods, has an invariable rule, "the greatest sufferers first supplied." Who, think you, sir,

47. See Footnote 41.

sends the most and best goods to Kansas to supply the needy? The stingy yankees! Who is aiding Kansas in every respect more than all others put together? The stingy yankees! Ah, sir, we glory in yankeeism and yankee "isms." Boxes of goods have been opened in our presence, the worth of the contents of which would not pay the freight, but they were not sent by stingy yankees. We have now an overcoat sent to our "care," for one of the "heroes" in the Territory, which, by the way, is a great curiosity, and were it not for robbing the poor man, we would vote that it should be sacredly preserved for the benefit of posterity, and its history enrolled amongst the "archives" of the Territory. We have concluded it could not have been made in the year one, for the flood must have swept off every vestige that pertained to the giant race, but are very sure it was made before we had a being! Here comes out knitting work, just begun, needles and all—here a little Misses' sack, half done, with the needle sticking in, just where busy fingers dropped the work into the box—here a hank of thread and there a roll of patches, put in by some careful hand.

More anon,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Feb. 9, 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS ⁴⁸—Our friends in New England need have no farther apprehensions with regard to the course heretofore pursued by Gov. Geary; if it has seemed to favor the "law and order" alias blood and murder party—the present state of things in Lecompton is somewhat as we had long ago anticipated, though we had not supposed the subterranean fires, that for months had been smothered by appearances, would burst out in a volcanic eruption, quite so soon! We have just learned, by a gentleman direct from Lecompton, that the Governor is in a sad fix, though he still retains his courage (backed, as he is, by a corps of the regular troops from Leavenworth,) for which he has gained celebrity, both here and in San Francisco.

He must be ill at ease, and truly needs the sympathies of the entire North, when he cannot trust his faithful house-servant, but is under the necessity of cooking his own food, lest his wench should be bribed to poison his favorite dishes! Now is not this a lamentable state of things—and would it be at all wonderful if this should serve as a *spur* to induce him to over-leap the barriers of bachelor-

48. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

ism, and alight somewhere within a certain radius, where he may no longer be considered invulnerable to Cupid's dart, tho' a little over forty years of age? Our informant tells us that he keeps aloof from the members of the so-called Legislature, and when a company of them entered his room, a few days since, to demand of him reasons for certain acts of his, in the Gubernatorial line, he ordered them from his presence!—'Twould not be at all strange if the next mail carried to the readers of the Democrat the news of his assassination, as it is boldly threatened!

[J. H.] Kagi, the "reporter" of the Kansas Tribune, at Topeka, wrote an offensive article for that paper last week, that savored too much of personality, in the opinion of Judge [Rush] Elmore, whom it concerned, and as both stood on the steps of the Court House [at Tecumseh], the Judge asked him if "he was the author of the article alluded to." K. answered in the affirmative, when Brooks-like, down came the cane of the Judge, unceremoniously, on his pate, but before he had time to repeat the blow, a by-stander handed K. a pistol, when he fired, hitting the Judge in the hip, maiming him for life—the Judge drew his revolver, and aimed it at K.'s heart, but the ball struck an account-book in his overcoat, directly over his heart, and thereby saved his life! The Judge fired three or four times at his victim, but not one ball took effect!

Don't you think, Messrs. Editors, ours is an enviable position, with such exemplary Judges to decide in matters of Right and Wrong in Kansas? One thing is clear as a sun beam at noon-day, —Justice with regard to the peaceable settlers in Kansas, who have been so strangely villified, will not much longer slumber. *Our day of triumph is not far distant! Mark that!*

The weather here last week was as pleasant as September in New Hampshire; thunder showers for two days in succession.—The appearance now is, that Spring has indeed come. The weather for two months has been intensely cold, with but little snow. Much rain has fallen lately, which has caused such a freshet as to intercept the mails, consequently news from the East will be very old before it arrives here!

Applications for clothing, only to be denied, as we have none, are constantly recurring—sometimes a shapeless "mass of rags" will stand erect in our door-way, with the form and visage of humanity, imploring help—at other times, shrinking modesty is compelled to make public "destitution and want," which it had for months vainly endeavored to conceal from prying eyes! A feeble old



THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION AT LECOMPTON

The home of Gov. John W. Geary during his brief residence in Lecompton, 1856-1857. It was sketched by a representative of *Harper's Weekly*, of New York, and was published in the issue of June 6, 1857. Of the place, *Harper's* remarked: "Rough and plain as it looks, it is said to have been for some time the most comfortable residence at Lecompton. It contains six rooms—three on the ground floor, a library, a dining-room, and an office—and two chambers and a store-room above."

lady, with a diseased limb, swollen to twice its natural size, called for help a few days since. Her house had been robbed by the ruffians, of almost her entire stock of bedding, and she so dreaded to call for help, she had crept between the feather-bed and straw ticking, during the winter, to keep from freezing, until her physician told her she must do so no more, as her limb would never get well in that condition! We had none to give her, but we spoke to a Christian lady to lend her some bedding, until we could get some from the East.

We sometimes think our friends are hardly aware of the great destruction of property here by ruffian-hands, and how many families, who would otherwise have a competence, are thus made wretched. We had hoped our own losses from the same source, would, in these times of need, be made up by some benevolent hearts, but as yet, we have hoped in vain!

We would say to our Christian friends in New Hampshire, that there is some faith, love and zeal for God in Kansas—we are greatly embarrassed in having no suitable place for worship during the winter—our tent, that answered very well in warm weather, is wholly unfit for present use. There are two places of worship, costing several thousand each, that will be completed early in the Spring, belonging to the Congregationalists and Unitarians, built by contributions from the East. Will not some benevolent heart, that beats in unison with others of like character, amongst the Granite Hills, be moved to contribute their mite to help rear a house for God, on these lovely plains, for the use of the M. E. church?—Who will respond? Who wants a hand in building the first M. E. church in Lawrence, K. T. We wait the echo: not the price of blood, or unrequited labor, ask we, but the free-will offering of a free people.

Respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

P. S. The Kansas River has broken up, and the ice is running to-day at a fearful rate—of course the Missouri River is in the same condition, and the boats will soon commence their regular trips. Large companies of emigrants are waiting at different points, we are told, to enter the Territory. We would say to all who contemplate coming to Kansas, to take the boat at Alton, Ill., or St. Louis, and get a ticket, for ten or twelve dollars, through to Leavenworth, (unless a boat runs on the Kansas River, which they can easily ascertain) not stopping at Kansas City, Wyandot, Quindaro,

or any other place; they can purchase a team at Leavenworth, a covered wagon, if they bring their families in which they can eat and sleep, and every Yankee woman, I'll venture, can make her own coffee, fry her ham, and bake her cakes by the way-side, as we had to do for long and weary days in succession, with a dying child, and ourselves worn down with fatigue, and lone watching, and our kind protector far, far away, and a drunken thieving teamster in his stead! Ah, me! those days of crushing grief! May none others ever know the like!

From Leavenworth, each one can take what direction he pleases, to seek a location. There are "claims" in plenty, untaken, a few miles from the different towns in the Territory. Do be early here, or you will be pushed farther back. We are receiving letters, almost every mail, from different parts of the Union, from individuals who wish us to help them in securing a location in Kansas.

LAWRENCE, K. T., March 19, 1857.

DEAR PARENTS⁴⁹ AND ALL THE REST: I have been working with "might and main" since day-light this morning to try to get a leisure moment and now as my "men" boarders have gone on to their ponies and gone out to view the country, I seize a moment, in the greatest haste to write you, ere they return to supper. Mr. L[ovejoy]. started for Manhattan Monday morning with Dr. [Whitehorn] and Juliette, who has been here three or four weeks on a visit. I have looked for a letter from some of you, and have expected Colby every week till we received Matilda's letter, which we did the day after Mr. Lovejoy left for Manhattan. I have been thronged with people all winter and spring—emigrants are pouring in by the hundreds, and among them is Dr. Frye, N. Leavitt, and Mr. Alexander, of Grantham—we have kept all from N. H. free from receiving pay—they have gone to get claims, and I thought for a few days I would have a "resting spell" when yesterday in come a flock from Chicago, and among the number is a rich Methodist preacher came to invest his thousands here, and a Dr. Evans, who is a Methodist, and the preacher told me, he is worth half a million; came here to lay out a town. How sorry we are that some of you did not come here before people rushed in so, even if you had left your farms untilled for a year, as you would have gained in the end. Now for a family "chat" as I have long wished to have; What follows is just for your eye, father and mother, and nobody's else—first, we are trying to do right to God and man—second, we

49. Daniel and Betsy Hardy of Lebanon, N. H.

are well all of us in body, and in temporal matters, if our plans succeed we shall have enough for ourselves and something to do with—our claim in Manhattan joins the City, and must be worth \$5,000; forty acres of this will be worth \$1,000 which we give a German Methodist, to hold the whole for us, and carry it on, one or two years—we find team, and all even to his bed, and things to keep house with, to keep him there; he has agreed to pre-empt it, in his own name, we paying the money to enter it and deed back 120 acres to us, and unless he backslides, and is guilty of perjury, he will do so— We have 6 shares in M[anhattan]. City stock, worth \$600 and the Association voted me one share, worth \$100— Mr. L[ovejoy]. has sold four for four hundred doll[ar]s— we have paid for 80 acres, of a Methodist brothers claim, 8 miles from here— Charles bought 8 lots in Lawrence, last winter, and cleared \$400, and if he had kept them until now he might have cleared 800— with this money, Mr. L. bought a “claim” in Palmyra, 8 miles from here, for \$800, to pre-empt ourselves, for Charles, who had lost two claims, and not a small sum, expended on one, by not being of age— forty acres of splendid timber on this at P[almyra] and Mr. L. thinks is the loveliest spot he has seen yet; only one claim between that, and a town laid out which must be a large place, as they have located the [Baker] University there, and property has run up enormously since we bought— it is worth today \$3,000. Charles is there, keeping old “bach” and Mr. L. goes back and forth to hold it for him a good house on it, and quite a field, broke and sails [rails] out— I do want C. [to] find him a wife, that he can love to keep house for him but he is difficult to suit— thought once he had made up his mind at Manhattan but no; he says he never loved but one, and that is the faithless Angenette. Charles is one of the keenest speculators, you ever saw, and trade he will, as much as [his] uncle Dan, and we cannot keep him from it— he is a noble young man— Irving makes me more work than all three of my other children ever did. The moment he is dressed, in the morning, he is ready to dive into mischief— he is all Lovejoy, as handsome as a dollar, eyes sparkling black and bright as a button. I weaned him last week. Juliette, has a husband that is making a “pet” of her in every sense— she has all the money she wants to spend, we think foolishly, for fine things unnecessarily and we talk to the Dr. for indulging her whims so, but it does no good. “Why, ’tis my little pet” he will answer, and he thinks it is not an easy matter for her to do wrong— she is fleshy and looks like a

doll, and he is not willing that she should do but little work. She never was permitted to wear such fine garments, till she went from home. He bought her a covered buggy when here and she must have her pony, to ride with him, and a six dollar ladies bridle and the nicest saddle that could be found, but his money comes easily. He has a claim joining ours at M[anhattan]. "a house and a lot" in the City, and \$500 in loose cash, when here, besides a "lot" of uncollected debts, and most all the practice in the surrounding country— he is a skillful surgeon— took off a man's foot, just before he came down here, took him but a few minutes and charged him 40 dollars, that is the way with Drs in this country. He is now 30 and she 17— We have one lot here cost us \$300 *now* worth 500; another, near the levee here, not prized and two where our house stands, which with the buildings we value at \$1500 or 2000 and also a "fraction" timber lot, of 3 acres, joining Lawrence for which we gave a yoke of cattle and 30 doll[ar]s some time ago, now tis very valuable, and no doubt it will be jumped and we shall lose it unless we sell it immediately. Our losses have been 5 or 600 and not made up, as we thought, that the stolen things would be from the East. Now, I have told the simple "talk" that I knew you would want to know. I wish you were all here. Tis as warm as June in N. H. today. Do write the day you get this. Don't neglect us so. Good bye; I must be up and ready for the men. Love to all,

JULIA.

LAWRENCE, K. T., April 29, 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS ⁵⁰:—It has been so long since we talked to the Democrat, we were thinking to-day that our friends might imagine some evil had befallen us, to cause this silence, when it has originated from a different source altogether. Those who have read the "Herald of Freedom," can have some idea how Lawrence has been over-run by the thousands, that have swarmed the streets for weeks past—every house being literally full, and some *densely packed*. And, as usual, with such a rush, sickness has come along too, and we are told, small-pox, measles, and scarlet fever, are now in Lawrence. Instead of *writing*, for weeks past, we have occupied a position that a salamander might enjoy as his native element, if fables were a reality, over the cooking stove, preparing some eatables for the hungry emigrant, in a room heated to ——— but stop!

50. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

we did not look *once* to the thermometer, but sped away, day after day, to our appointed task, nor stopped to think how tired we were, until the last object of solicitude was stowed away for the night.

And then, Sirs, we believe the sin would have been pardoned, could you have slyly peeped through the key-hole of your sanctum, and enjoyed a hearty laugh at their expense; for, who could gaze on *such* a motley group, in *such* a "fix," and not have their risibles excited to the highest pitch? A writer, whose descriptive powers were of the highest order, would hardly do justice to the subject. In one corner might be seen two gentlemen who belonged to "upper tendom," who are here to invest their thousands in laying out towns, if their plans succeed; the great-hearted and good Dr. E., of Chicago, worth his half million, can take a couch just as lowly as the poor New Hampshire boy, in the other corner, who is snoring away as lustily as if no midnight dreams of assassins ever disturbed his repose. One entire side of the room is covered with sleepers, and now, as the last man has sunk into the arms of Morpheus, a little caution may be necessary, if you wish to make an inspection, lest you tread on toes, as some, unfortunately for them, find the mattress will not stretch to accommodate their elongated limbs. For instance, your friend Bailey of Bradford, N. H., whom we gladly hail as a valuable acquisition to the cause of freedom in Kansas, and may his "gigantic shadow not soon be less!" Among our guests we could number eight from the dear old Granite State. A Mr. Little of Hollis, over sixty years of age, in easy circumstances at home, said "he thought he had done work enough to see a *little of the world* in his old age. He had not been here but [copy torn] wrote the following [copy torn], who took care at [copy torn] of few words, and highly [copy torn] the country)—"John, if you are [copy torn] and *anxious* to come to Kansas, I will sell out, and *help all I can to come to the best country in the world.*" The old gentleman has joined a colony who have taken "claims," and are locating a town (near Council City, about twenty-five miles from Lawrence) that they have named "Young America!"⁵¹ Now don't laugh; for what does a name signify? Mr. Little so renewed his age in coming to Kansas, and getting a farm under such novel circumstances, that he actually got a night's start of the whole party, lest some of them would get the best claim, so that they lost sight

51. Young America was the name of a town projected on One Hundred and Ten creek in Osage county. The town company numbered 53 members. The place never succeeded in becoming a town.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1531.

of him. May Kansas be blessed with many more such energetic, judicious men.

Have you not rejoiced with us at the noble stand St. Louis has recently taken?⁵² We fearlessly predict that Missouri will soon follow in her footsteps, and in less than five years slavery will there be known as a *thing* that *once* cursed the people. Did we not tell you, months since, that *our* time of triumph *would* soon come? Mr. Stanton, as *acting* Governor until Walker arrives, gave us a speech last Friday night, in which he alluded to the "bogus laws," and I was told by one who was present, that "he said they must be enforced even though at the point of the bowie-knife." He was answered, "Then *we* shall use Sharpe's rifles."

We have no fears with regard to any more war, and Kansas *will be free*; of this we have no doubt.

For the gratification of the Methodist preachers in New Hampshire, who are disposed to complain of "hard fare," in their comfortable parsonages, we would like to give a short "sketch" of one who was once of their number, who has just returned from a tour of three weeks to Nebraska City, N. T., where his Annual Conference has just been held. During his journey, sick and weary, he was obliged to stretch his aching limbs on the open prairie for the live-long night, one of the coldest of the season—no blanket to cover him—no food for himself or faithful beast—his carpet-bag for his pillow, and the ague defying him to proceed farther at his peril. On he went, and at the conclusion of the Conference, heard his appointment read off, to a place twenty-four miles from the field of labor where he has spent two years—no comfortable parsonage awaiting his arrival—not even a shelter of any kind for himself and family—nothing but the promise of God, and souls "hungry for the bread of life." And the whole salary of this man, for two years, has but little exceeded (all told) some of the surprise visits made by the loving people of New Hampshire and elsewhere, to their good pastors. O, that some of the "broken fragments" of the well-filled tables, might roll in this direction and feed some of these hungry Missionaries and their families. I must stop, as my house begins to be thronged again, and the question is again and again asked, "Can you board me? Do you take boarders?"

In haste,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

52. At the charter election in St. Louis, Mo., on April 6, 1857, gradual emancipation of the slaves was an issue. The party favoring emancipation won over the Proslavery party by a 1,500 majority.—New York *Tribune*, April 8, 13, 1857.

LAWRENCE, K. T., May 5, 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS ⁵³—Had you been at the parsonage this morning, at the eastern declivity of "Mt. Oread," you might have imagined that "Santa Claus," or some other good spirit, had found a way of making their ingress to the Missionaries dwelling, whether down the chimney, or in some less questionable way, we will leave you to determine; the gifts were there in rich profusion, to gladden the recipients, and that is enough. And tho' we did not once see the wily old fellow, peering grinningly into the suspended stocking, as we used to imagine in our younger days he did, when he let fall his Christmas presents, we *did* see the invalid pastor, as one article after another was taken from the well filled barrel, shed tears, and we could not well suppress a kindred feeling. If *good wishes* and heaven-directed petitions are not unanswered, Manchester ladies, with their noble-hearted leader, Mrs. Chapin, (whose name is fragrant with good deeds for the needy in Kansas,) will not go unblest. We will not attempt to enumerate the thankfully received articles, that were severally such a "nice fit"; but a little bonnet and dress, made us feel, as none but a bereaved mother *can* feel; it being designed for a precious form that two years from the very day and hour we received it, we had laid away with sorrowing hearts in her lowly bed; but she wears a *better* robe and "starry crown."

We almost felt a spirit of coveting *one* of the boxes of bonnets that were sent from Manchester last winter, because they came from our own dear native State; but Sirs, instead of one, we received two in this barrel for us, one for summer and one for winter, and barring a few "extras," we could *not* have suited ourselves better. This is the second time we have been affected by the personal kindness of friends in New Hampshire. We have supposed that other things have been sent us, but not being in a box or barrel directed to us, they have lodged somewhere else. A gentleman from your goodly city called yesterday with a paper in his hand, found early that morning, in a ravine near town, signed by Mrs. Richard Bradley, of Concord, N. H. directed to Mrs. C. H. Lovejoy, of Lawrence, K. T., and also a card, saying that she had forwarded me a dress, and also that the ladies of Concord had forwarded two hogsheads of clothing to the needy in Kansas. We soon learned how matters stood. The two hogsheads came safely to hand, but being directed to Rev. E. Nute, we knew nothing of the matter; and he, for some cause, left them out doors at the Unitarian Church, over night, and

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they were taken by thieves into the ravine, the one in which my dress was, broken open and one half the contents stolen, my dress among the rest, and the remainder was strewed about. Will not our dear friends at home follow our directions, and if they wish to send anything to anybody in Kansas, put the *name* and *locality* of the individual you wish to serve, on the box or barrel or whatever you send? We shall send to the kind-hearted Mrs. Bradley, for a fac-simile of the pattern sent, and if we catch anybody promenading the streets with our dress on, we shall be likely to make some inquiries into the matter. In the interim, Mrs. B. will accept our warmest thanks, if we *have* lost her present.

Had you been here with your old friend Bailey to-day, you might have been treated to a nice dish of baked beans, that were found between the folds of cloth, and in every unoccupied place in the Manchester barrel; not ready for the table of course, but nice and just right. May the gardens in Manchester never be trespassed upon by the frost king, until this wholesome esculent shall be beyond his reach. Emigration in *both* directions is *active*, coming and going back, because they find such poor fare in Kansas. Poor souls! What a pity it is that their good mothers did not make them a cake of sufficient dimensions, like Harry's of spelling book celebrity, to last them the entire journey that they might not be under the *sad* necessity of living on "corn bread" in the cabin of the squatter, who, with his half-starved family, has been glad, some of the time, to get a little meal from pounded corn, to live upon.

Our house has presented a spectacle, most of the time for weeks past, that would have greatly amused our friends, could the several scenes be faithfully daguerreotyped, in their different phases; especially at night, when every weary soul was fully intent on seeking the "best quarters" on the softest side of the softest board, "right side up with care."—One young lady, who laid her weary limbs as close to our own bed as possible, gave in her solemn "affidavit," in the morning, that somebody had trespassed on the "wee bit" of space allotted to her during the night; but on inquiry, we learned that it was only a poor invalid from New Hampshire, who in his haste to make his exodus from the heated room into the fresh air, had unceremoniously trodden upon her head rather heavily. On the whole, we think, in many respects, we have had a "model" family, made up as it has been of such a variety from every point of the compass. Please say to our friends, that our appointment the

present year is "Oskaloosa," a rapidly rising town, 24 miles from Lawrence, but our address will be still the same, for the year, "Lawrence," as heretofore.

Yours Respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

PALMYRA, K. T., May 30, 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS ⁵⁴:—Such is the economy of Methodism, and the system of *itinerancy*, that we have been *compelled* from the force of circumstances, to vacate temporarily our home in Lawrence, for one with our son, on his "claim" in this town, ten miles from Lawrence—for be it known to our good brethren within the bounds of the New Hampshire Conference, in their comfortable parsonages, there is but one, as far as we are informed, for the preacher, in this whole Territory, (that is near the Missouri river, at a place called Columbus City ⁵⁵) and he must throw him up a cabin to shelter his family, or rent one at an enormous price, houses are in such demand—so here we are, and the Missionary, (who is literally, and we have long feared irrecoverably broken down, by exposure and hard labor, during two years of suffering in Kansas, and contending with ague and fever, for long weary months) is thirty-four miles from us, going from cabin to cabin, and like his Master "no certain dwelling place," and for the year to come, unless confined to his room by sickness, will only be an occasional visitor to his family.

Such is "Kansas life," but our spirits do not flag, and we are full of hope for the future; neither do we regret our own personal suffering in the past, for Kansas will be saved to God and freedom, and generations yet to come may rise up even on these lovely plains, to call us "blessed," for our sacrifices in wresting this fair land from the "mildew of slavery," and, perchance, find an indefinable emotion, welling up from the depths of the soul, akin to the one that almost overpowered us, a few days since, as we leaned over the railing that encircles the grave of the lamented Barber,⁵⁶ in Lawrence cemetery, and walked from "grave to grave" in this "city of the dead," where our own heart lies buried, for there sleeps the "darling of our bosom."—Heaven give us grace to feel "thy will be done."

54. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

55. Columbus City was located in Burr Oak township in Doniphan county. It was laid out in May, 1857. "This town had some growth, and was for a number of years assessed as a town site, but has been long since [before 1883] vacated."—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

56. Thomas W. Barber, a Free-State man, was shot and killed four miles southwest of Lawrence December 6, 1855, when he refused to surrender to a Proslavery band.—D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 87.

Our Eastern friends could hardly believe that this grave-yard is now quite as full in two-years as some thickly-populated villages in New England, in perhaps twenty or thirty years. We undertook to count the graves, all of which are without any stone or wood, with the initials even of the individuals marked thereon, with but two or three exceptions; but our feelings were so wrought upon, we desisted and prostrated ourselves on the grave of our loved one, and thought how many mothers in New England had sons buried there who left home in all the buoyancy of hope, and in a few short months were stricken down by the fell "destroyer," and those mothers could not stand by their dying couch and wipe the "dew of death" from their brow—neither could they drop the tear over their grave, or even know the spot that covers their precious dust—but there is one sorrowing heart, that for their sakes, has performed this sad office for them with tears and groans, heard only by the Invisible.

You are aware that Palmyra is the spot where "Baker University" is to be located, and a more lovely site, we think, cannot be found. Timber is more plenty here than in any part of the Territory, we have seen, save on the "Indian Reservation," and what is dissimilar to any other place we have seen in Kansas, the timber lies high on real hills, not bluffs, as in other places, or fringing the margin of rivers and creeks, as elsewhere. This claim has sixty acres of timber and one hundred of rich bottom land. Our son paid \$600 for it a long time since, and would not take twice that sum. The claim adjoining has ninety acres of timber, and was bought by a man from Illinois, a few weeks since, for \$600, so our friends will perceive property is held in some estimation in this region. Two shares were sold in "Palmyra Town Association," last Thursday, for \$500.

Shall we describe our cabin, for the gratification of the ladies in New Hampshire?—Behold, then, ye fastidious, and judge whether "contentment" dwells alone in a princely dome! See ye that little unpretending structure, built of logs, sixteen by twelve, perched on yon hill, almost embosomed in deep green foliage, nearly encircled by the arms of that young and vigorous forest? that is our home. Now, from the northwest corner of our cabin, for a stand-point, feast your eyes on the enchanting panorama spread out at your feet, and as far away in the distance as vision can stretch on every hand. This field of three acres, so nicely fenced in, is our garden!—Just saunter along with us, and see our peach, apple and pear trees,

brought from Illinois.—You will find cherry trees, grape-vines and currant bushes, with a “variety” of vegetables, that have been suffering for want of rain until to-day, when the full clouds have been emptying their contents upon the earth “shower upon shower,” accompanied by [ter]rific thunder, and such lightning as we [never] saw till we came to Kansas. That [field lying] beyond the garden, partly enclosed, [contains] one hundred acres, and is Charlie’s [corn field]—he has about ten acres, ploughed [and] planted, and intends to have at least [twenty] five acres in corn. Please walk in, and [see] the interior of our cabin, that is divided and subdivided by curtains, to make lodging apartments, sitting room and kitchen. That mammoth-fire-place, that yawns like a cavern’s mouth, has been of essential service to the lonely inmate, during the to him long tedious term of his keeping “bachelor’s hall,” who, by the way, has become quite an adept in the sublime mysteries of making cornbread, though for a while ’twas to him a puzzle, as difficult to solve as a problem in Euclid, how “to make it hold together” after the “thing” was baked. Our shelves, for dishes, you see, are loose boards, laid on huge pins, driven into the logs—a stove, table, and a few chairs, and our kitchen “fixtures” are complete. Our chimney-top affords ample room for the hens to roost, and is thus appreciated nightly as a safe retreat from the destroyer! We have music from the birds and chickens, and are we not happy?

You will understand, our projected University was so named, in honor of our beloved Superintendent, who was the first Methodist Bishop who attended the first session of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference—may the child ever reflect honor on the revered father. The destruction of human life is of very little account here; the recital of murders, for they can be called nothing less, is truly sickening, for very *small* matters—horse-stealing—jumping claims, an altercation about some matter, with a stage-driver have frequently imbued murderous hands in their brother’s blood. We have lately lost our only horse, worth 150. (save an Indian poney) which is the second one stolen, or strayed, besides having one die; and had one wood-lot jumped (by a heartless fellow) for which we paid \$100. But let us trudge our weary way on foot, limping to the grave, all our days, or warm our shivering limbs by another’s fire, rather than the thief be shot—for what is the value of property, compared to ushering a poor wretch, with all his sins unrepented of, on his guilty head, into the presence of his Maker?

We would tender our thanks to the little Misses of South New-

market N. H., for the valise filled with "articles of clothing" to be distributed amongst needy children, brought by T. L. Tullock, Esq., of Portsmouth, N. H. Each garment was made by their own hands, and the *sewing*, we assure you, sir, would put to the blush many an older Miss! We design to form a Sabbath School in this place, and fix out needy girls, who will attend, with this clothing, as far as it will go, and perhaps hereafter, those very little girls in South Newmarket, having grown to womanhood, will on these lovely plains, meet those benefitted by their liberality, and from their lips receive oral thanks. We opine, that among the list of names attached, are those of the daughters of Mr. Pike, Representative to Congress; but of this fact we have not been advised. The weather is cold, and Spring unusually backward. Provisions are very high, and nothing but money will buy them, and as far as our own personal opinion will go, we *must* say, "times look dark, about getting bread for all, until corn can grow." Emigrants like the "locusts of Egypt" have come in such "swarms," that they have *swept all before them*—i. e. in the narrow circle, where *we* move daily. Flour in Lawrence is now \$12, per. barrel, potatoes 3.50 per. bushel, ham 17 cts. per. pound, beans, *white* 4.00 per. bush., butter, 35 cts. per. pound. So you see those who have *little* money, *must* fare hard. Board is four, five and up to seven dollars per. week, in private families, and (hire washing done elsewhere) in hotels, 1.50 per. day.

Please say to our friends, that our communications, are still to be directed to Lawrence, for there is no Post Office nearer, to which we can have access, and we do not grudge the pains in going ten miles to the Post Office, if by that means, we can hear from friends, which is "like cold water to a thirsty soul," in this distant land.

In haste,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

[PALMYRA, K. T., June 1, 1857.]

MR. EDITOR⁵⁷:—. . . How full of change is life! More than two years ago, we found ourselves suddenly removed from a dear little cottage nestled on the green hills of New England, to a floorless, windowless cabin, on a vast expanse, where but one other of like stamp with our own appeared, to break the monotony of the view, as far as vision could stretch on either hand. There the untaught savage, almost in a state of nudity, painted and decorated in the most hideous style, shocked us with his repeated intrusions,

57. *Zion's Herald*, Boston.

until we learned not to fear his approach; there the rattlesnake and copperhead, with various others of the serpent species, intruded upon the sanctity of "our home." In that lone spot, almost on the "limits" of civilized life, the angel of mercy laid a beautiful boy in *our* cradle, to repair the breach made by the destroyer in the "household band."

But time passes on, and we find another home, built by our hands. Satan, in the garb of border ruffianism, invades our "beautiful country," and threatens a total extermination of all who will not bow down to the slave power. Men and women *stand erect* and cry, "we will not yield." Then are let loose the "dogs of war"; Atchison and Stringfellow, with others of like spirits, are lying in every hamlet, and their infuriated *yell* is heard along the creeks and rivers; bye and bye, a murderous crew, exceeded only in rage by the "spirits lost" in the infernal pit, urged on by the whiskey-demon, come as formally announced, to "wipe us out." The smoke of burning houses herald their approach; anon, their "bloody flag" heaves in view, surrounded by thousands whose blood-thirsty souls are clamoring for our death—in hot haste the foremost, scarcely able to restrain their impetuosity, as elated with the thought that now the hour so long desired had come, and the last "stronghold" of "abolitionism" *must* give way before the force of such overpowering numbers." The well-spiced bullet soon checked their ardor, and told them that a more than "Spartan band" awaited their approach. In full view of the mortal combat we fled from our home, and twice again in 24 hours did we seek a refuge in a place of safety!

The wheel of time rolls on, and so does the wheel of *itinerancy*, until by our system we find a "*new home*"; and shall *we* be permitted to follow the example of Rev. G. E. Chapman, in the last Herald that has yet reached us, and attempt a description of our "surprise," for be assured we have them in this new Conference as well as on the elder ones, though of a different character. And you will not be "surprised" when *we read* of the many sweet "surprises" that our dear New England friends are making their good pastors, that we are tempted to wish some at least of the "broken fragments" might roll this way to "surprise" them whose entire salary barely exceeds those "donation surprises." Be it known to you who occupy comfortable parsonages in New England, that there is but one parsonage in this whole Territory, as far as we have learned, and the preacher must find a shelter for his family where he can! Behold then, that invalid preacher, who has been con-

tending for months with "ague and fever," listening almost breathlessly as his appointment is read off to a distant place where there is no house of any kind for the preacher to live in. An iron constitution is at last broken down by incessant toil and the inroads of disease! his family must go ten miles in an opposite direction, and he must find a place to lay his aching head where he can.

And now follow the family as they wend their weary way beneath a scorching sun to another home. With oxen duly equipped, attached to a huge baggage wagon, the wife mounts to her elevated seat and begins her toilsome journey! A "wee bit" of space only is allotted to *her comfort*, for the household goods must occupy all but just room for her to sit, without changing her position in the least for rest—the "goods" towering over her head from a dizzy height, and threatening an avalanche if any of the fixings should give way, a basket of potatoes to rest her feet upon—in *her arms*, a child not quite two years old; in one hand an umbrella to screen her throbbing head from the oppressive heat of the sun, and in the other a bundle of sundries that could find no place secure from falling overboard, from the rocking to and fro of the ponderous vehicle. In due time the journey was completed, with no special misfortune save the premature death of Miss Biddy, who needed no coroner's inquest to prove that she died for want of room, hard pressed for quarters. On our arrival we, too, opened a "suspicious looking box," as did Bro. Chapman, and to our "surprise," found our nice loaf of "corn bread" all broken into fragments by the jolting of the wagon; nevertheless, it served as a choice bit to the hungry baby; and the gentle cow, that we had purposely left unmilked for the day, furnished a wholesome repast for our sharpened appetites.

The preacher must not look for "stopping places" only as he turns his jaded beasts to graze, and lounge in his wagon the while.

For the "surprise" of some of the city preachers' wives, we should like to introduce them to our cabin on the day of our arrival; sick at heart, and almost murmuring at our hard lot, till faith and hope revived and triumphed. Two young men, who knew nothing of the "sublime mysteries" of housekeeping, had been keeping "bachelor lodge"; and to our "surprise," not a spot from the rude shelves of loose boards laid on pins, driven into the logs, to the nethermost nook, but what demanded instant attention from the newly arrived before the place was put to rights—no friendly stranger to lend us a helping hand or bathe our feverish temples, or prepare us a meal,

that we might find a moment's respite. This, my dear sisters, is only an outline of "Kansas life" amongst Methodist preachers, and we should be agreeably "surprised" if any of you would give us a call at our little cabin, for the string of our wooden latch is literally out day and night; and although the door turns on big wooden hinges, in primitive style, it will creak as cordial a welcome to you as those with bell or knocker.

You are aware, Sir, that Palmyra is the seat of our projected University, named in honor of Bishop [O. C.] Baker, who was the first M. E. Bishop who attended the *first* session of Kansas and Nebraska Conference. A lovelier site cannot be found. It is to be built on an eminence, overlooking a vast expanse on either hand as far away as the eye can stretch, and a more enchanting panorama, we think, the sun never shone upon.

There is more timber here than in any other part of the Territory we have yet seen, and it lies *high* on hills or ridges, and not along the margin of creeks and rivers, as elsewhere. Our Eastern friends may not be aware of the historic incidents connected with Palmyra, though they have doubtless read of the far-famed "Palmyra battle,"⁵⁸ where the enemy by stratagem were so wonderfully defeated by a mere handful of brave boys. In this same battle the enemy took a number of Free State men that they had heretofore taken prisoners, and among the number was Rev. Mr. Moore, Methodist preacher from Iowa; and in the heat of the battle formed a rampart of their bodies, so that when *our* men fired the balls would pierce *these* prisoners *FIRST*, who were *bound* and could not escape! Among the heroes of the day in our ranks, was Bro. Moore's own son, who continued to "blaze away," little thinking his venerable father was exposed to *every* bullet from his rifle. By a singular providence not a hair of one of the prisoners was singed! They had previously taunted him, by drawing their hand significantly across his bald head and saying, "your scalp would not bring much," there was so little hair on his head.

Near the cabin is the grave of the man, who was killed by the falling of a stone from the Free State Hotel, at the time of its destruction.⁵⁹ The poor wretch, with his comrades, was so intent on tearing the building down, he did not perceive the stone that, as

58. More popularly known as John Brown's Battle of Black Jack which took place June 2, 1856, about four miles southeast of present Baldwin.—See *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 10, p. 354.

59. The raid on Lawrence of May 21, 1856, by members of the so-called "Law and Order party" under Sheriff Samuel Jones. Killed were two Free-State men and one from the invading force mentioned above.

with an invisible hand, smote him to the earth, and in a moment he was before his Judge; he left a family of five children. Please say to our friends that our address will be still Lawrence, as heretofore.

Respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

PALMYRA, K. T. July 1, 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS ⁶⁰:—We thought it might be of some interest to our New England friends, to hear how "matters and things" are progressing at the "Peoria land sale," which has now been progressing seven days.⁶¹ Paoli, where the land is bid off, is about twenty-five miles from here, and as Mr. L. has been there from the commencement with the exception of two nights at home, we can give facts in the case. There are more than 1000 persons in attendance, and as is usual in such cases, any amount of drinking and gambling, and some robbing. One man lost \$500 from a belt, around his body, by "pick-pockets." The gamblers are very shrewd in decoying their victims into their meshes. One man advanced in years, whom they had singled out to fleece, as they probably supposed him a green-horn at the business, they persuaded to try his luck at the gaming table, and so sure were they of their anticipated money they purposely let him win. When the game was concluded, the old man scooped up his money and was off for himself, and all their honeyed words had no effect on him afterwards; they found they had caught a Tartar instead of a green-horn!

The squatters have the first chance to bid on their land, in preference to the speculator. The land is prized from \$1.75 to \$2.25, the acre, and some timbered lands still higher. Some men go there, and the first day buy out a squatter's right, enter their names as a settler, and when the parcel of land is to be cried off, the auctioneer inquires if the bidder is a settler, the buyer answers "Settler." No more questions asked, and perhaps the purchaser will not set foot on the land again, but keep it to speculate on. Our friends will understand a man cannot lawfully pre-empt but once, let him go to what territory he will, but he can buy just as much land at these sales as he can get hold of. I will give two instances that occurred, this week, at Paoli. [Two?] poor New England boys went from this [place] where they had been stopping weeks—the you[nger] took a claim on the Shawnee lands, and after getting

60. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

61. On June 24, 1857, Wilder noted in his *Annals*, p. 170, "Land sales at Paola. Walker and Stanton present."

considerable timber off for his own benefit sold the claim for \$300 and never laid out one dollar on the claim, went down to the Peoria lands, took another, built him a cabin, and this week it was bid off to him for \$1.75 per. acre, and now he has it all paid for, and \$150 still owing him, for the Shawnee claim,⁶² by a young man, abundantly able to pay, and he designs to take another immediately on Government land, and these two claims will be worth more than any dozen farms probably in the "rocky and rough" town of G., the place of his nativity, where the land is *poor*, but the people GOOD.

[copy torn] preparing his "lunch" for his [copy torn] way, observing he felt sad to start out [copy torn] said we to him, "God will bless you Daniel for your father's sake," for the Psalmist exclaims "I have *never* seen the *seed of the righteous* begging bread." "I hope so," said he, and that pious father who is no doubt praying daily for that exiled child, can have the satisfaction of knowing that God is blessing him temporally and in all his wanderings he still maintains his integrity. The other young man we thought would not do for Kansas, for instead of boxing up a "breaking plough" and bringing it all the way from New Hampshire, which would have been far more serviceable, he brought along his piano-forte, with all its "fixings," to teach music for a living in Kansas! We would not have given him ten dollars for his prospect of a livelihood, when he left here as he had but little money, and we thought by the way he managed, he would have less and would be soon taking the back track for the "Granite Hills," when, lo! the scale turns, and see how fortune favors the brave! He bought a claim for \$150 with a cabin on it, as it was too much work to build one, gave his note, and this week sold the claim for seven hundred dollars.

The sales will probably continue this week. The settlers along the Kaw River, are feeling bad because the time is so long delayed for the land to come into market, for them to secure their claims. This region will not be in market for months yet to come, and a man must stick close to his claim, and almost fight to keep it from being jumped, till it is secured. This shameful business of jumping claims and shooting in return still goes on and seldom a week passes, but in some part of the Territory somebody has lost their

62. The Shawnee Indian lands were thrown open for purchase and preëmption November 19, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 198.

life in these affrays. It is high time that a full stop is put to this business, by the people "en masse" before any more blood is spilled. A young man was shot dead in the vicinity of Leavenworth a few days ago. He was ordered off a claim, but would not leave, when he was brutally murdered.

Crops are growing finely, the rain is very much needed. There is a dead calm in the political sea—we think it augurs something unusual. Emigrants are still coming. A large body were encamped at "black jack" about six miles from here,⁶³ in the "Great Bend of the Arkansas River." Several have gone down from Lawrence and taken claims and report that the country is *very fine*, and timber plenty. This is causing quite an excitement with those who are desiring claims; the place is called Walnut Creek,⁶⁴ and lies directly on the Santa Fe route. This offers great inducement to settlers, and a ready market for corn, that Missouri has heretofore supplied. You will anon hear, no doubt, that a thriving town has sprung up. A man has returned from that point lately, and says while there, he saw herds of buffalo, miles in extent. We fully believe that is now the place for those who want a desirable Southern home. Provisions are very high, and it must be hard times here, till the crops come off.

In haste,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

PALMYRA, K. T., Sept. 21, 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS⁶⁵.— . . . We will here give our experience in getting acclimated to Kansas, as we have spent three summers here. The first summer, we suffered but little sickness, as a family, and began to congratulate ourselves, that whatever else we might suffer here, we should enjoy as good health as in New Hampshire. The following summer our entire family had the "fever and ague," and some of us for months. Last spring, Mr. L. had the ague again for weeks, severely, and the present dry summer the most of our family have been sick, and I have not seen a day when I felt well and able to work as formerly. Others we meet with, who have not suffered with sickness at all.

As our letter is not full, and we write but little at a time, in detached sentences, we would like to tell your lady readers what has

63. Apparently an omission here.

64. Walnut Creek was first established as a post office in May, 1853. It was located on the Arkansas river at the mouth of Walnut creek in present Barton county. A military post was established here or in the vicinity in June, 1853, by the removal of Company D, Fifth infantry, from Fort Atkinson.—See *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 1-2, p. 265.

65. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H., October 8, 1857.

been, and is still, the bane of our life, in this beautiful country—we refer to *snakes*! We can face a wild cat, and endeavor to “look him out of countenance,” when he became too tame to be endured, as we have stood in our cabin door, at the “Mouth of the Big Blue,” and done more than once, and with uplifted axe, drove the intruder to the woods, after he had throttled and devoured the last of the race of Miss Bidd’s, in our possession, save one, and that, through our powers of locomotion and self-possession, was rescued from a fearful ride, of perhaps twenty rods, on his back, with her head in his teeth, tho’ the poor creature was so dreadfully lacerated in the encounter, she suffered decapitation immediately after the rescue!

We will tell some of the little boys, in New Hampshire, if ever we go there, how, day after day, when he would come into the dooryard, and up under our little window, we would get Charlie’s big double-barrelled gun, and rest it on the window-sill, so near that ten feet would have reached him, yet we never had courage to go through the experiment, notwithstanding Charlie’s systematic lessons and training, we never could come to the practical part of it, and he was sure to come when we were alone, or in the night.

Let a copper-head or a rattlesnake make their appearance, and our courage is all gone. We have never enjoyed a walk in the garden, or gathering plums, or, indeed, sleeping in our unfinished cabin in warm weather, on account of these intruders. I will tell three stories, if not more, about our neighbors’ being bitten by snakes. Mrs. Sanders, wife of Capt. Sanders, formerly of Massachusetts, one extremely warm night, spread her bed on the ground inside of their cabin, as they had no floor, took her babe and one or two other children, and lay herself down to sleep. In the night she turned herself over to nurse her babe, and felt something sting her under lip severely; the pain increasing, she called on her husband, who slept elsewhere, who got a light and went to a trunk to get some “pain-killer,” and there coiled behind the trunk was a rattlesnake; her lip continuing to swell shockingly, he ran for some neighbors, and when he returned found two more rattlesnakes in his cabin, and his poor wife in awful agony—her lip turned black, and one who saw it informed me that it looked as large as her arm—her head and neck swelled to her shoulders—her eyes assumed the peculiar look of a snake’s eyes, and as long as she could speak, in piteous tones, she begged “them to keep the snakes from biting her children.” It was with great difficulty the physician could keep her from choking to death; he scar[r]ed her neck all around in

places that had turned black, and by a miracle almost, though great suffering, she was saved!

Now taking all the attendant circumstances into the account, is not this an unparalleled kiss? Another:—A young lady living about a mile from us, felt something crawling up her side, as she lay reclining on the other in bed, and supposing it to be her little "pet kitten," and not wishing to be disturbed in her slumbers, rudely pushed it away with her hand, when lo! the ominous sound! she shrieked to her mother, "a rattlesnake!" and sprung for a light, and there lay his snakeship, who was soon captured by mother and daughter, and expiated his detestable propensities, by being mauled to death with "sundry billets of wood."

Mrs. Anderson, a lady 50 or more years of age, who lived on the opposite side of the Big Blue from us, threw her arms over her head in the night, as was her wont, when she felt a peculiar stinging sensation on her hand; she called for a light, and to her horror, saw a large copper-head over the head of her bed; she set up a terrific scream, supposing, probably, she had received her "death wound"—a messenger was dispatched for Dr. W., our son-in-law, who has had a number of such cases, and though her arm swelled dreadfully, to her shoulder, she was soon entirely cured.

Our only daughter was bitten on the side of her foot, through a kid bootee, as she was walking in the grove near our dwelling; and her husband being from home, it devolved on us, ignorant as we were in such cases, to try and save her life; and for the benefit of those in a similar dilemma, we will tell the process, which was afterwards pronounced "right." We first tied a strong ligature tightly above the ankle, applied our lips to extract the poison as far as possible, and gave her as much whiskey as we could get her to take, to keep it from her stomach—(by the way, the first "ardent spirits," under any circumstances, placed to the lips of a child by the writer.) The Doctor soon returned, and, though somewhat alarmed, the patient recovered, after suffering the pain of a swollen foot and some lameness. A timber rattlesnake, and prairie, are very different, the former being far worse than the latter.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

PALMYRA, K. T., Nov. 30, 1857.

MR. EDITOR ⁶⁶:—Sometime since we sent a communication to the Independent Democrat, at Concord, N. H., giving a brief "sketch" of our first tour in this Territory, but as the letter was of more than ordinary size and weight, the man who was trusted to carry it to Lawrence to be mailed, no doubt thinking it contained money, opened it, and finding nothing but trash left it by the wayside.

We will now fish up some of the incidents connected with this tour from memory's storehouse, that will give your New England readers some idea of Kansas life. And as it has become quite fashionable now-a-days, for equestrians and pedestrians, and for travelers of every description, in all sorts of conveyances, describable and indescribable, to give occasional "jottings," we, too, in plain, matter-of-fact style, would tell some of the many things that came under observation. Our health not being good the present season, we availed ourselves of an invitation from the missionary on the Oskaloosa Mission, to travel awhile in his "extended rounds," to share his "fare," and we have come to the very important conclusion, after a week's trial in going from one cabin to another, "that if we believed in the final salvation of the whole human family, unconditionally, for all the gold of Ophir we would not be a missionary in Kansas, and be compelled to suffer such hardships as the present pioneer-preachers of the gospel now submit to." But to our story: Behold us then, dear reader, as with wondrous merriment you peer out from among the hills of Yankeedom, and vainly guess with what kind of a name we have christened our strangely constructed vehicle, which consists of an elastic board, laid horizontally, from one axle to the other, with a low seat mid-way, and we advise travelers, hereafter, to discard "steel springs," entire; especially if they ride over saplings, fallen trees, stumps, and logs, as we have done in this journey, when benighted, having lost our way; and crossed unbridged and well-nigh impassable ravines, in a strange place, at the lone hour of night. On we jog, from our little cabin, ten miles to Lawrence. We forded the Kaw River, and the water ran over the top of our carriage, over our shoes, swept over our carpet-bag, so that every article of clothing it contained was thoroughly saturated; but we enjoyed it deliciously, as it was extremely hot, dry weather, and we had a nice, cool bath for our feet. We then struck into a road that crosses the "Delaware Reservation," where for twenty miles there is nothing to interrupt the solitariness

66. Probably *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

of the weary traveler, as there is not a single cabin in that distance, unless one turns aside miles from his course, where settlers have illegally "squatted" on the "Kaw Reservation," which extends for miles on either side of the Kaw River, and is heavily timbered and immensely fertile. When we passed along that way, the chiefs of the tribes were at Washington, imploring aid from Congress to drive off these intruders. This rich land is expected soon to be treated for, and then what a scramble for it!

Night was fast coming on, and we turned aside to put up with one of these settlers, who was very happy to extend his hospitality to a minister of the gospel in this out-of-the-way place; but our lady readers will not wonder that for the livelong night our eyes were "held waking," when we tell them that in the room we occupied there were five beds and twelve or fourteen occupants, and within two feet of our bed lay a man recovering from a severe case of small pox, and our babe had never been vaccinated, neither had we for many years; but there was no alternative; to retrace our steps was out of the question; to go forward in the darkness of the hour was impracticable; still we should have preferred sitting in the open carriage all night. The next morning we were up and off for Oskaloosa, which in Western parlance we found to be a "right smart heap of a place."

After rest, and refreshment at the house of a good brother late from Iowa, we proceeded on our journey, and lost our way! A thousand sympathies, hereafter, for the poor benighted traveler who loses his way on these almost interminable prairies. On we urge with lash and voice our jaded beast, who literally staggered through sheer fatigue, and soon found ourselves in a dense forest; and to add to our "sad fix," for a long, long way no cabin to make inquiries concerning our whereabouts; and vivid lightning's lurid glare, and loud thunder bellowing through the thicket proclaimed by "signs unmistakable," that a Kansas thunder storm was just upon us, we hugged still more closely our precious boy to our bosom, while husband dragged his weary limbs over fallen trees and under-brush, and led the horse by the bit, as we were out of the way of any vestige of a road. At a late hour, we "brought up" at a shanty in the woods, where we were cordially received, and provided with a comfortable bed, and soon the rain came down, and streamed through the roof and on to our bed; and after it had poured into our upturned face long enough to satisfy us, we changed position, and took the foot of the bed and had a chance for a nice, cool bath

for our feet! On the whole we should have found this a night of rich enjoyment with a Christian family in this lone spot, with sundry reflections as to the honored position we were permitted—so unworthy as we felt ourselves to be—to occupy, as veritable missionaries. The highest aspiration of our heart from a girl of sixteen, has been to be a faithful missionary, and labor and suffer for Christ. Here then we were, at “the high noon of life,” occupying the very position in Kansas we have so long coveted; but our reflections were ever and anon disturbed by some living thing gliding along and rattling the newspapers with which the walls were papered; and we were in constant fear lest a huge rattlesnake, after surfeiting himself on mice, of which they are extremely fond, would drop into the bed, from above, as they often do in unfinished cabins, or into our face. Heaven bless the dear family.

Next day found us on our way to an appointment for preaching; and, sir, it would have done your soul good to have been there! The crowded house, the fixed attention, tearful eyes and hearty responses, told that the Spirit was present. Now all our toils in getting there, in that sweet hour, were counted as nothing—and then the sequel, when there is such a “rush” to take the preacher’s hand, and secure his company for the night, at their home, before any other can get the chance, so that the preacher has to tear himself away from them. There is such an affectionate, whole-souled heartiness about these “Westerners,” that one cannot help feeling at home among them. From thence we went to Leavenworth, and were hardly prepared to see a city of such dimensions spring up by magic, in so short a time. Ornamental trees, and a beautiful style of architecture in many dwellings, reminded us of New England. From thence at a late hour in the afternoon we started for “Crooked Creek,”⁶⁷ where our quarterly meeting was to be held the next Saturday and Sabbath, supposing we should have sufficient time to reach the residence of a family to whom we were directed, to spend the night with them; but lo! on our arrival no such family could be found, and we were in another dilemma! We supposed we had got on the track of the aforesaid family, a mile or two from the road, and off we pushed in the twilight, as evening had begun to spread her sable pall on all surrounding objects, over the worst road we ever traveled, and finally no road at all, as stumps, logs and bushes had to be met at almost every step; on reaching the

67. Crooked Creek was located on a creek by the same name in Jefferson county about five miles southeast of present Nortonville. Except that it had a post office for several years little is known of it.

spot a hang-dog looking Dutchman accosted us in a surly manner, and a singularly appearing Dutch-woman seemed struck with astonishment that we should venture within their precincts at this unseemly hour. We wheeled our horse about without alighting from our carriage, and as fast as it was possible to do so retraced our steps to the main road, glad to escape, as was Pilgrim from the castle of Giant Despair; once in the Military Road again we resolved to drive to Easton, if our horse did not give out, as he was sick, though we had to ride all night.

At a late hour we arrived at Easton,⁶⁸ a strong pro-slavery community, where the tragic murder of R. P. Brown by fiends incarnate, was accomplished—and the public have never yet learned half the revolting particulars of this brutal murder. Brown was a martyr to freedom, in the full sense of the term. A worthy member of our church told us he was at the store when the gang drove up, with him in the wagon, his body hacked over with their hatchets, and while they left him in the street, a bitter cold night, to go in for their dram, the blood ran from his wounds through the carriage bottom, into the road, and stood in puddles on the snow; and one of them spat tobacco juice in Mr. Brown's face and eyes, as he lay dying, the whole route; and he not daring to plead one word for poor Brown, lest he, too, might be the next victim.⁶⁹

This region is the strongest pro-slavery of any now in the Territory; and a volume could not contain the sufferings of the Free State men, who unflinchingly stood erect, when their houses were rifled, their cattle and horses taken, and they repeatedly shot at, as beasts of prey, and finally imprisoned.

Our next drive was for a beautiful grove, where a glorious quarterly meeting was held, in true Western style. The preaching, praying, singing and shouting, was as if the citadel must surrender or be taken by storm, which was done effectually, and we alternately laughed and wept; and so would you, Mr. Editor; and the grand old woods rung, as they had not to celestial notes, since that august morn when "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." A number of children were consecrated to

68. Easton is in the northwestern part of Leavenworth county in Easton township.

69. The murder of Capt. Reese P. Brown by a Proslavery mob occurred January 13, 1856. According to Wilder's account, Brown and seven others on their way to Leavenworth were arrested and taken to Easton where a Proslavery mob had assembled. They were guarded through the day and at night all the Free-State men were released except Brown. He was taken out and assaulted with hatchet and knives, then dragged to a wagon and carried to Dunn's liquor shop in Salt Creek valley. Finding that Brown must die, he was taken to his home where he soon expired. Captain Brown had been in Lawrence during the Wakarusa war aiding the Free-State men. He was a member elect of the Free-State legislature.—Wilder, *op. cit.*, January 17-20, 1856.

God in baptism, including our little Kansas-born Irving. But what earthly Eden was ever found, without the serpent there? As we rode on to the ground, where we were to stop, in alighting, lay coiled up a rattlesnake, who was soon dispatched, and found to have six rattles.

It would do your city preachers good, cooped up as they are, from Sabbath to Sabbath, between dingy walls of brick, to snuff the exhilarating prairie breeze, and attend one of those soul-enlivening meetings that are considered such a "great occasion" by our good Western brethren. Only think, Yankee sister, there were full forty fed at the same tables in the family where we were served, and the "heaps" of chickens held out to the last.

Mr. Lovejoy's mission embraces Oskaloosa, Osaukie, Easton and Fairfield,⁷⁰ with an indefinite number of appointments on various creeks that intersect this country in all directions, so that he is with his family but little. Shall we, sir, for the benefit of our dear New England preachers' wives, (pardon our weakness, we cannot keep back the tear that wells up at the thought of some we so much love,) shall we attempt a description of the reception they may expect to meet, when they come to Kansas, and call upon some of their Western well-to-do-in-the-world brethren, though many they will find with coarse fare? You rein your steed in front of a log cabin, with one, and sometimes two rooms, and out runs the father, followed by some half dozen white-haired youngsters, and, *sans* ceremony, seizes your hand with no very light grip:—"I am mighty glad to see you; I reckon as how there will be heaps of people to hear the sarmint tomorrow. We have had heaps of dry weather, so we have had to pack all our water from yon ravine, and crops, I allow, will be powerful light." You begin to scare away the pigs and chickens, and prepare to scale the fence, that almost invariably surrounds these domicils, and by actual count, we usually found them five or six rails high, and if, unfortunately, like ourselves, addicted to corpulency, it may be some matter of calculation how you will succeed in your perilous attempt to land on the other side, though we have always performed the feat with, to us, surprising agility. Then commences an onslaught on the chickens, for the preacher has come, and he must feed on the best we can furnish. And such a "hue and cry," from the throats of hundreds of these disturbed pipers, as though all hen-dom was in commotion, creating a perfect Babel.

70. Fairfield was a town in Jefferson county, now extinct.

Some of the habits of Western life, originating doubtless in necessity, are truly shocking to our Yankee notions of propriety; especially, when so many of different sexes lodge in one room, in uncurtained beds. If you wish to change your linen, why haste away to the grove, to perform your toilet, as other preachers now have to do; or, if the wet grass is up to your arm-pits, do as Mr. Lovejoy did recently, who, Sabbath morn, threw his soiled nether garment across his carriage-seat to dry, as it was well saturated with perspiration. When he turned to look for it, lo! it had all disappeared, save the wristband and "wee bit" of one sleeve, and where think you it was? Why, mulched into the maw of a live ox, who was forced to disgorge its contents, instant; but ah me! the rents and tears were unmendable. If we can enjoy health, as formerly, we shall, after all, enjoy much of missionary life in Kansas.

Respectfully yours,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

P. S. Politics here are assuming a fearful crisis; and will not prayer unceasing go up to the God of heaven, by our dear sympathizing brethren, that the horrors of war may not be again forced upon us, by thrusting this miserably fraudulent State Constitution, a slave code, conceived in iniquity, and brought forth in abominable falsehood, on to this abused and shamefully insulted people?

J. L. L.

PALMYRA, K. T., Dec. 2d, 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS⁷¹: This ill-fated territory has been the theatre of so many cold-blooded murders, or "deaths by violence," that the record of them has ceased to produce but very little excitement, save in a limited circle, where they occur; but when the "oldest settler," (aside from the Kaw Indians) has been assassinated, by sundry blows, "well laid on"—when he, who for more than a score of years, has held *undisputed* possession, of the region around the junction of the Big Blue and Kaw Rivers, has been ruthlessly beaten to death; deserves it not, more than a passing notice?

Dr. S. Whitehorn, of Manhattan, with no "malice aforethought," save what he bears to the particular genus, (not genus homo,) has had the audacity, not only to slay, but thrust his lifeless victim, into a glass jar, filled with alcohol, to preserve the trophy of his victory, to grace his cabinet! The culprit met his doom, sans cere-

71. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

mony, as he was in the very act of stealthily crawling under a neighbor's house, whether for purposes of burglary, or intent on getting a good supper, (as they with all other fastidious epicures, have some favorite dish) our deponent saith not. The species are extremely fond of certain four-legged animals, that infest the cabins of the "settlers," where a plentiful supply of the feline species, is an indispensable desideratum; and the feats of agility, they have performed after a night's meal, in dropping from "above" on to beds, to the horror of the occupants, we have not time to tell. John Smith now occupies the first cabin, built in the "Great bend" of the Blue, of which the writer was the sole mistress for many a lonely day.

You are aware, sirs, there is a certain ubiquity attached to this name—this same veritable being awoke one morning from his bachelor slumbers, and found one of the same "kith and kin" of him whose fate we are now recording, stretched at full length across his "light stand," with a mouse in his distended jaws! But we digress from our tale of truth. Dr. W. who by the way, has quite a taste for antiquarian "relics," carefully scanning his victim, found a certain appendage which was unmistakable proof that, for twenty three years, in a Summer's sun, he had basked near the sunny slope of "old Bluemont." Dear reader among the Granite hills, did you ever see a mammoth rattlesnake? . . .

But we want to say a few things with regard to matters politically, in this our adopted home. As much as we *once hated* the idea of women politicians, no true woman who has been cradled among the liberty loving people of New Hampshire, who has from infancy to womanhood, inhaled the zephyrs that fanned the noble brow of a Stark, could be in Kansas, and *see what we have seen and feel what we have felt*, and not wax enthusiastically zealous for universal freedom. Of all the shameful "crises" that has been basely forced upon us as a people, the crisis that matters have now assumed, seems to us the most hateful; and after all we have passed through from the tender mercies of slave democracy, if this bantling of a Constitution⁷² fraudulently conceived in whisky-fuddled brains, and ushered into being amid the bristling bayonets of U. S. soldiery to guard it from an outraged people—we repeat: if a government, under that miserable slave code is *forced* upon this struggling people, war is inevitable, and ere its death shriek shall die away along the Kaw valley, the people will be in arms from the

72. The Lecompton constitution, drawn up in the fall of 1857.

nethermost settlement on the Republican fork, to Eldorado, two hundred miles away, in the far S. W. And Sirs: believe me, when this awful crisis comes, there will be found more than one "Joan of Arc" in point of moral courage, that will fearlessly stand for the right.

Tell us not, the heroines of the revolution have never found successful imitators, in "daring deeds" of courage in the present generation of fragile women! We can lead you to the homes of our sex in Kansas, where two lone women mounted their ponies, and in dead of night expecting to meet a detachment of the enemy at every leap of their horses, galloped eight miles to Hickory point, where they had heard the booming of cannon all day, to learn the fate of loved ones, in the battle. The one had a husband, and the other a son. Now let a yankee woman imagine she sees them with their horses at the top of their speed, their cape bonnets streaming in the wind as "ever and anon" they turn their anxious eyes homeward, to see if their dwelling was in flames, as the threat had often been made, and only saved by the intrepid courage of their daughter, who is a Hoosier, and looked to us, with her brawny arms and big bare feet, with a profusion of jewelry pendant from the ears, as though she might strike terror, even into the heart of a "border ruffian." The husband and father was from home most of the time, in skirmishes with the enemy, and several times, did a party of armed ruffians order the family to leave the house that they might fire the premises, and as there was a group of children, they did not want to roast them alive. This girl would confront them in the door way, and always succeeded in keeping them at bay. There are thrilling incidents connected with "Kansas affairs" that ought to be treasured up for the benefit of the future historian.

What think our democratic friends in New Hampshire now about Walker's promises? The Oxford *fraud*⁷³ is but a *tithe* of the *fraud* practiced here; and how much longer, suppose ye, will christian men and women—unflinch[ing] advocates for temperance and moral purity—descendants of the pilgrims of Plymouth Rock, submit to be *governed* and *trodden* upon by blear-eyed, whisky-bloated debauchees, who forsooth, before the final "pack up" for headquarters, might find it convenient to wind up with a grand finale. The fact as reported to us, will be recorded doubtless by an abler pen

73. The names of 1,628 persons were listed as having voted at Oxford precinct, Johnson county, in an election October 5, 6, 1857. As the precinct contained but eleven houses, Gov. R. J. Walker and Sec. F. P. Stanton refused to accept the count.—Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

than we can wield. What the next act in this drama will be, time can alone determine.

Let prayer to the God of heaven go up unceasingly from pious hearts, in behalf of this people, and if war is forced upon us, by Buchanan and Co., who are leagued with the South, let brave hearts, from the Granite hills, respond to the call of their insulted brethren in Kansas, and whole regiments of "*Invincibles*," throng the thorough-fares that lead in this direction. Ere this reaches you, there will be rejoicing or wailing among the sons and daughters of New England sires in this fair land. Heaven defend the right.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

[LATE DECEMBER, 1857, JANUARY 1, 1858]

BRO. HAVEN ⁷⁴:—We beg the privilege of saying to our dear New England friends, through the Herald, that we are in the midst of a glorious revival of religion in this place, and it would do your soul good to see the people flocking in every direction to the place of worship, and the almost breathless attention that pervades the multitudes as they listen to the story of the cross. God is in the place, in very deed. Last evening, as we knelt at the "mourner's bench," were two souls just initiated by the Holy Ghost into the mysteries of salvation—one a beautiful young widow, who had buried her husband and only child in this Territory, and she came to lay her poor lacerated heart, all bleeding and torn by repeated bereavement, at the feet of Him who alone can bind up and heal; the other, an intelligent lady from Ohio. Our meetings have been in progress about one week, and the sound has gone out through the adjacent country that God is pouring out his Spirit in this beautiful prospective city, and a general interest is awakened. A local preacher from Iowa, a giant in Israel in intellectual strength and ability, has come back into our ranks, and in the name of the Lord of Hosts, is mowing a swarth through men and devils. Our brethren may think this strong language; but only three weeks ago, as Mr. Lovejoy was attending his duties as chaplain of the Legislature, at Lecompton, this same man was there, and raving like an infuriated maniac, under the influence of whiskey, and intense hatred and wrath, which has been nursed by some new outrage on the part of the Pro-slavery Ruffians, for more than a year, and his inmost soul has been burning with rage; and had the power been his, as well as the will, they had long since sunk to the nethermost

⁷⁴. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

hell. No ordinary gang of men, fully equipped, could take this man save by strategem, and this they accomplished by disguising a party of Rangers, and calling themselves "Free State" men, and by decoying him away. With a score of rifles levelled at his breast, a rope was put around his neck, and thrown over the limb of a tree, but for some reason he was reserved for further indignity, which was well for them, for by the force of his giant arm alone, unless he had been dispatched at once, by a bullet through his heart, he could have leveled a dozen of them. They have continually dogged his steps, destroyed thousands of dollars worth of his property (as he was rich,) until his soul was maddened to fury, and he gave up his religion, and in a half-frenzied state seized the "cup of death," to drown the remembrance of his wrongs. Just before the meeting of the Legislature at Lawrence, his son was assaulted by a ruffian, who almost killed him. This prompted him to wreak his revenge on the whole horde; and had he not been timely secured by his neighbors, blood would have stained his garments in the streets of Leecompton. Now the lion is turned into the lamb, and as he testified in public for the first time since they tried to hang him, he forgives his blood-thirsty enemies.

We are in a "sad fix" politically, and none but God can help us out. There is a division in our ranks that we fear will weaken our party, a part for voting under that miserable swindle, the "Leecompton Constitution," and a part against it. There never lived a people, Mr. Editor, so insulted as the Kansas settlers have been for the last three years, and Heaven only knoweth where it will end. Mr. L. is a chaplain of the Legislature which adjourned to meet on Monday next, and we expect a "stormy time," if not a collision, in some shape. We beg the prayers of our dear friends in the East, that God will still stand by us on this battle-ground of freedom, as he has heretofore, and that the right may triumph.

A few words about this locality. Oskaloosa has had thirty houses built within eight months; it has two steam mills, two hotels, two stores, and some beautiful residences, and bids fair to be a flourishing town. Twenty miles of "Delaware Reservation" stretch away to the south, toward Lawrence, and about twenty miles to the east, lies Leavenworth.

We want good female teachers, who could obtain constant employment, and the best of wages. Do send on a score from East Greenwich, Wilbraham, or Newbury, Vt.; we want them immediately, and they would do much good. If they will drop a line to

"C. H. Lovejoy, Lawrence, K. T.," it would receive immediate attention. A word personally: We would say to our friends, that "troubles in the Territory," and sickness, made us feel bad last summer, and well nigh tempted us for a while to leave the Territory; but we have resolved unless driven out at the point of the bayonet, we will never leave until Kansas is redeemed, which is soon to take place, (for her redemption is certain) and here we expect to lay our armor off, and go to our reward. Aside from the hot, dry weather in the summer, it is the best place on earth, we believe, for a home. The winter thus far has been like September in New England. Rev. H. Moore, of Erie Conference, has come to our help, and God is preaching, through him, in power.

In haste,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

P. S. Friday morning, Jan. 1 [1858]. Last evening we held one of the best watch-night meetings in Oskaloosa we have ever attended! God's saving power was manifested in a glorious manner; there were the bride and bridegroom, just united in holy wedlock; there the young lady and gentleman of intelligence and influence, all bowed together at the altar of prayer, encircled by a band of praying ones, strong in faith, and the power of God rested on the assembly, whilst one after another arose to speak of the grace received. At the solemn midnight hour eight came forward and gave their hand to Mr. Lovejoy, and their names to be entered in the class book. This is the western style of doing up things, and we think the right way. If any of the preachers in the Eastern Conferences feel willing to put up with long rides, and hard fare, in a place where they can do more good than in any other place, we think, on earth, let them come to Kansas. No temptation would induce Mr. L. to leave Kansas, for this is the spot for him, in preference to all others. Now is a chance for preachers with families to secure to themselves homes, in the finest country that lies beneath the sun. We have seen our heart's idol laid in her cold, damp grave in Kansas, and thought our poor hearts must break with anguish; we have suffered with cold and hunger sometimes, and have fled for our lives from the advancing foe; sickness for months in succession in our family, whilst our own health seemed irrecoverably gone, though now restored; but we are glad we came to Kansas, to labor for truth, and justice, and we shall triumph.

J. L. L.

[Part Three Will Appear in the November, 1947, Issue]

Bypaths of Kansas History

WEBFOOTED JAYHAWKS

The evolution of the wartime Jayhawk in the Pacific theater of operations attained a development of phenomenal proportions, a letter to the Kansas State Historical Society from Lt. Col. Lowell R. Whitla, state maintenance officer, Kansas National Guard, stationed at Camp Whitside, Fort Riley, reveals.

The seagoing Jayhawk was found to be webfooted of the specie *Sailgieriens*, a tough and prolific old bird that produced numerous offspring of lesser size. Colonel Whitla was the commanding officer of the *U. S. S. Radon*, a 4,500-ton vessel described as the seagoing version of ordnance's heaviest maintenance outfit, the base shop. The vessel was maritime commissioned at National City, Cal., and the commanding officer carried his master's papers out of the Port of Los Angeles. The crew was trained at Aberdeen Proving Ground and Bainbridge Naval Training Center in Maryland, Fort Monmouth, N. J., Walter Reid Hospital, Washington, D. C., New Orleans and the San Diego naval base.

On the forward port and starboard sides of the *U. S. S. Radon*, this super-barge of 265 feet, proudly stood a guardian Kansas Jayhawk of heroic proportions. "He was eight feet high," Colonel Whitla said, "and wore the crimson and blue colors of a true Kansan. Now, this particular Jayhawk was one of the 'old-timers' and no longer a college boy. So, in place of the letters 'K' and 'U,' he carried an ordnance bomb under one wing and a very serviceable monkey wrench under his other wing.

"The crew of the *U. S. S. Radon* was composed of some of the army's finest men, the majority being ordnance men. They are technicians and curious about all phases of their equipment and especially the guardian Jayhawk. These men were experienced and necessarily a little older than average. 'A Bunch of Tough Old Birds,' as they became known. Their toughness and curiosity caused them to remove the Jayhawk's shoes and, lo and behold!, they found him to be *webfooted*, with spurs."

Apparently this Jayhawk was a lineal descendant of the feathered bird of Coronado's day, for the story of "The Mythical Jayhawk," by Kirke Mechem, in the February, 1944, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, referring to *Apocrypha of Coronado*, gave descriptions of Jayhawks with webbed feet and some with boots with high heels and long spurs.

However, this Jayhawk of Pacific fame apparently learned to carry an ord-



The Seagoing Jayhawk

nance bomb under one wing and a monkey wrench under the other after his indoctrination for World War II. Military experts say this seagoing bird of warlike demeanor is in sharp contrast to the peacetime Jayhawk of the "huggin' and a chalkin'" era.

The Pacific Jayhawk was a wartime sentry who never slept during his tour of duty aboard the *U. S. S. Radon*, Colonel Whitla vouches. "In fact," the colonel avers, "he recruited additional Jayhawks of his exact color and kind who were also equipped with the same tools and pedal extremities, to go aboard the auxiliary craft, A. B. T. L., an M. T. L., an L. C. P. L., and a 36-foot yawl, as well as all the motor equipment, consisting of four 2½-ton, specially-equipped shop trucks, and two ¾-ton trucks.

"The two 8-foot Jayhawks had the assistance of the twenty smaller ones who were in proportionate size according to the size of the craft or vehicle he was to protect.

"Now, to show further the universal adaptability of this bird from the center of the U. S. A., let the writer point out that the gold of his beak and legs with the crimson made the ordnance colors and his blue coat shows his relation to the navy. His facial expression shows he's a tough old bird, emblematical of the men under his protection. His web feet show his aquatic prowess and his spurs, his willingness to fight in a cause that is just. Take particular notice of his stride, his chest, his straight-forward glance and the white of his eye. Yes, the Kansas Jayhawk, with permission of Fritz of Lawrence . . . , and 'Vic' Ellsworth of Kansas University, did do a fine job in World War II.

"His job was maintenance. He 'kept them rolling.' Under his supervision, new lenses for glasses were ground, false teeth repaired, radar and radios rebuilt, x-rays, jeep and tank motors renewed, small arms, artillery, trucks, sea-going boats, put back in action. Even at one time a midget race car was manufactured as a training program for the men as well as a pastime.

"The last time the writer heard from him, he was taking the *U. S. S. Radon*, stripped of the 8½ million dollars worth of special equipment, to Korea, to serve in relief and assist the U. N. R. R. A."

A ROUGH LANDING ON THE MISSOURI RIVER

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, May 19, 1859.

Some steamboatmen get above their business, particularly when they have persons to deal with whom they do not suppose to possess full purses. On the down trip of the *St. Mary*, last week, among the passengers was an old German gentleman, for many years past a resident of Massillon, Ohio, who wished to stop at White Cloud. He is able to buy several such boats as the *St. Mary*; but being quite plainly dressed, how should the officers of the boat know the above fact? They did not put out a plank for him, but ran close to shore, and let him jump, which he did, muddying himself considerably in the attempt, and by the hardest kind of scrambling, escaped tumbling back into the river. They then threw his carpet-sack out after him, bursting it in the operation. When boats accommodate their passengers in this way, they are not 'deserving of patronage.

HARDSHIPS OF TRAVELING ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1865

From the "Frank A. Root Collection," used by permission of his son, George A. Root.

WM. N. BYERS, P. M.
POST OFFICE, DENVER, COLORADO,
Monday, February 27th, 1865.

My Dear Rich

I reached here last Saturday, (25th) and bother to drop you a few lines, though I shall not write a letter as I have no spare time, being completely worn out in consequence of the severe hardships incident to my trip across the plains in winter. I left Atchison on the 7th and was 18 days making the trip. I staid at Cottonwood Springs five days. From there I came through with five coaches and had a guard of some 25 employees of the O.S.L. mounted on horseback. We did not travel any in the night, but on the contrary kept a sharp look-out for Indians though did not see any except two dead ones at the American Ranch, 130 miles from here. For more than 50 miles in places there is not a house remaining, every one having been destroyed and in most instances the people taken prisoners or butchered on the spot. Most of the people killed were found with their heads and arms and legs chopped off and piled up in a heap, though they had been buried before I came up.

At South Platte station, 15 miles east of Julesburgh we filled every coach full of corn and hay to feed the stock between there and Beaver Creek station, there being no depredations committed this side of the latter station which is about 120 miles east of here.

The property destroyed at Julesburgh belonging to Mr. Holloday will amount to \$100,000 though this is not a drop in the bucket compared with other property destroyed.

I never saw the plains look so lonely and desolate as at the present time and it will be impossible for the stages to make regular trips again before two or three months, as nearly all the hay, corn and stations have been destroyed for nearly 200 miles.

I shall leave here for Atchison on the 2d March, and take a heavy mail through to the Missouri river. I brought out the first mail Colorado has had since the Indian troubles, and never saw such a rejoicing among the people.

One of the grandest illuminations ever known in the Rocky Mountains takes place here to-night in honor of the capture of Charleston.

Yours Truly,
F. A. Root.

[Addressed:] L. R. Elliott, Esq.
(Cor. Ed. "Standard.")
Binghamton,
New York.

TWO GALS IN CALICO

From the *Wichita Eagle*, January 8, 1874.

MR. EDITOR: I wish to say, through your columns, to the people of Minneha that the dresses worn by two young ladies to the party at the bachelors' den were calico, not velvetine. I have fretted my righteous soul over much about it, for fear the young men might be deceived in the goods, and think it something costly.

Yours,

COUSIN P.

GENTLEMEN, PLEASE!

From *The Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, February 23, 1882.

The city council of Atchison has refused to give the ladies of the library association of that city, permission to use a billiard table, which was presented to them by Maj. Downs, in their rooms, without taking out a license, such as saloon-keepers are required to obtain for the purpose. A smaller, more contemptible action, says the *Champion*, was never suggested in any council on the face of the earth.

SMOKED OUT!

From the Atchison (daily) *Champion*, February 10, 1895.

John Seaton of Atchison, has the stub of a cigar that Abraham Lincoln smoked during the civil war. Mr. Seaton picked up the stub as Mr. Lincoln threw it away, says the *Kansas City Gazette*. It should be deposited in the State Historical society instantan. Some of the smoke from this identical cigar has been there for years, says the *Clay Center Times*.

THE FATHER OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

H. H. Gardner writing in the *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, March 8, 1895.

. . . I think Dr. Allen White was the strong central figure in El Dorado in the days of '70. He was enthusiastically interested in the growth and progress of the town and hardly a night passed that he did not have some private or public meeting of the people to discuss something of importance. He would go his rounds and notify us all to come out. He was a democrat, but local issues then were paramount and "Doc." would remark that he had to "plow with the republican heifer for the common good." He was the author of the remark that there was "no general or state statute against damned fools." In fact his quaint and terse sayings were the *bon mots* of the time and today constitute the special provincialisms of old El Doradoites. When he traveled he always carried a bottle of water in his pocket so when he discarded his chew of fine cut he could rinse out his mouth without leaving his seat. Five feet one way and 220 pounds all over he hated to get up and sit down often, but when on his feet and in motion he moved briskly for one of

his size. He had enterprise and built a showy drug store where Hitchcock's store now stands, the large fine house on East Central avenue and laid out the handsome block and planted the trees upon it where Judge Leland's and Ed. C. Ellet's houses are built.

From the *Times*, March 22, 1895.

Dr. Allen White was very quick witted and ready at repartee. A little incident is recalled that occurred at the old stone hotel in Florence in 1882, when the Butler county delegation were en route to the state democratic convention at Emporia. Having to linger several hours in Florence the delegation registered, and as Jake DeCou was pretty smooth with the pen he signed up for the party, and in the absence of Doctor White, C. A. Leland made a cross in the Doctor's name and wrote above and below, "his mark." When the Doctor came into the office Jake DeCou said, "Doctor, what does this mark mean?" Harry Brown spoke up and said, "It means that simply 'to the cross he clings.'" The Doctor with an air of one equal to the occasion replied, "And before I leave this house the landlord will conclude that 'a charge to keep I have.'" That was his little joke; just as like as not he paid the bills of all.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A series of articles entitled, "The Birth of a State—This Month in Kansas History," by Cecil Howes, has been published in the *Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, continuously since January, 1942. Among recent articles of the series are: "Salt, An Important Resource of Kansas," January, 1946; "Ferries and Toll Bridges in Early Days," February; "Prairie Fires in Kansas," March; "Oil Discovery and Development," April; "The County Seat 'Wars,'" May; "Sappa Creek and Arickaree Massacres," September; "Prohibition in Kansas," October; "The First Industry [Milling] in Kansas," November; "State Aid Through Bounties," December; "The Traveling Library and Art Gallery," January, 1947; "Military Posts in Kansas," February; "The Planting of Trees in Kansas," March; "Territorial Days in Kansas," April, and "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," May.

The story of the Daniel Sheridan cabin in present southeast Topeka which in the late 1850's served as a hideout for John Brown and slaves whom he assisted to freedom, was told in *Capper's Weekly*, Topeka, January 25, 1947. The cabin is owned by the John Brown Memorial Association of Shawnee County, Inc., an organization of Topeka citizens interested in preserving the cabin as a permanent John Brown shrine.

Feature articles of general interest in the March, 1947, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, include: "Kansas Weather: 1946," by S. D. Flora; "Survey of the Fossil Vertebrates of Kansas; The Birds," by H. H. Lane; "Plains and Zuni Species of Prairie-Dog," by Theo. H. Scheffer; "Pupillidae of Northwestern Kansas," by Dorothea S. Franzen; "Birds Added To the Kansas Faunal List," by Arthur L. Goodrich; "Production of D. D. T.," by T. T. Castonguay and R. L. Ferm; "Composition of Forbs at Hays, Kansas," by Noel R. Runyon; "The Nutria in Kansas," by Donald F. Hoffmeister and Charles D. Kennedy; "Reptiles and Amphibians of S. E. Kansas," by H. H. Hall and H. M. Smith, and "The White-Tailed Jack Rabbit in Kansas," by H. Leo Brown.

Pioneer life in Pawnee county in the late 1870's was recalled by Mrs. Martha Bixby Gates in articles printed in the Larned *Chronoscope*, March 6, 1947, and in *The Daily Tiller and Toiler*, March 14.

Mrs. Gates settled in Pawnee county with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. Delbert Bixby, in 1877. The family's first residence on their homestead, a sod house in Walnut township, was erected during a "building bee" at night. Mrs. Gates also recounted the beginnings of Prairie Home school district, No. 39. Reminiscences of Mrs. Harriet Broadbooks appeared in the *Chronoscope* June 12, and in *The Daily Tiller and Toiler* June 16. She settled near Pawnee Rock with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Payton, in the late 1870's. Payton operated an early day sorghum mill.

Recollections of Grant Whitlock concerning the Neosho valley in eastern Labette county in the late 1860's were published in the *McCune Herald*, March 14, 1947. Whitlock said when his family settled on a claim in 1866, which his father had staked the year before, there was a camp of 300 Indians on the lake, a mile and a half south of Strauss, near what is now the Strauss and Oswego road.

Biographical sketches of Ewing Herbert, co-publisher of the *Hia-watha Daily World* and *The Brown County World*, were printed in many Kansas newspapers following his death, March 15, 1947. Beginning as a printer on *The Brown County World* in the late 1870's at the age of 12, he was engaged in the newspaper business for 69 years. After serving as a journeyman printer in various cities he returned to Hiawatha and became associate editor of the *World* in 1887. He subsequently became manager and purchased the publication in the early 1890's. Herbert established the present *Hia-watha Daily World* on September 12, 1908.

The *Norcatour Dispatch* continued its weekly historical feature in recent issues by publishing reminiscences of Decatur and Norton county pioneers as follows: Taylor McNeal, March 27, 1947; Byron Wray, April 3; P. T. Neal, April 10 and May 15; C. C. Andrews, April 17, 24, May 1 and 8. A historical sketch of Reager, a village in western Norton county, appeared in the May 22 and 29 issues. The *Dispatch* said it was named for William Wesley Reager, an early settler.

Included among articles of historical interest to Kansans in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* were: "Hoofprints of Kansas Buffalo Cause Shift in a Bridge-Building Project [Ellsworth county]," by Cecil Howes, April 1, 1947; "Southwest Kansas celebrates the 75th anniversary of the arrival of the Santa Fe railroad,"

by Frank J. Shideler, April 13; "'Bike' Riders Who Began Good Roads for Kansas, Again Seek Recognition," by Cecil Howes, April 24; a sketch of the career of Walter A. Bowers, who has been named president of Utopia College, Eureka, by Paul Brownlee, May 4; "Prairie Dogs, Long a Rarity in Kansas, Revive as a Pest in Russell County," by Cecil Howes, May 10; a sketch of the career of Emmett Leo Kelly, a native of Sedan, one of the world's great clowns, May 11; an article on the career of Fred W. Stein, Atchison inventor, by Charles W. Graham, May 18, and "'Hoot' Burger, Fistic Hope, and the Dodge City Spirit," by Alvin S. McCoy, June 8. Historical articles by Cecil Howes in the *Kansas City Times* were: Minneola, Franklin county, was once a proposed capital of Kansas, April 17, 1947; a sketch of the career of Brig. Gen. Charles I. Martin, April 29; "Osage Mission a Century Ago," May 8; "Name Origins of Towns in Kansas," May 13; "Where Pawnees Raised the Flag," May 15; "A Spa Boom Swept Kansas," including a brief sketch of Merrill Springs, Osage county, May 17; "Fuel Problem of Kansas Pioneers," May 22; story of a Kansan who shipped himself home by express, May 24; "On Coronado's Trail in Kansas," May 29; "Creek and Town Names in Kansas," May 31; "British Settlers in Early Kansas," June 3, and "The Kaw River Highest in 1844," June 5.

Eight graves in Boot Hill cemetery at Hays were uncovered April 3, 1947, by workmen excavating for a residence in the West Eighteenth street neighborhood. The bones will be reburied by the city in Mount Allen cemetery. Discovery of the graves was described in the *Hays Daily News*, April 3, and the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 4.

The career of one of the colorful figures of the Southwest ended April 4, 1947, with the death of H. B. "Ham" Bell, 93, at Dodge City, according to the *Dodge City Daily Globe* of April 4. Mr. Bell came to Kansas in 1872 and located at Great Bend. In 1874 he moved to Dodge City and a year later contracted to haul ties for the construction of the Santa Fe railway at Granada, Colo. Besides his farming and business career, he served for 36 years as a peace officer.

Recollections of Orvoo M. Swartz concerning the route followed by government freighters between Fort Harker and Fort Zarah through northern Rice county following the Civil War, were printed in the *Bushton News*, April 10, 1947. Swartz was born in a sod

shanty on the Simeon Swartz homestead, on which a part of Bushton is now situated. The area in Rice and Ellsworth counties, adjacent to Bushton, was known as "The Plum Creek Flats." The flats, Swartz asserted, were on a line between Fort Harker and Fort Zarah. The Buckbee spring being a favored watering place, the government freighters followed a course north of Bushton about half way between the Bushton railroad depot and the Rice-Ellsworth county line.

Construction of the Santa Fe railroad to Valley Falls 75 years ago was recalled in a sketch in the Valley Falls *Vindicator*, April 23, 1947. The article listed station agents as well as other employees who have served the railroad at that place.

Titles of brief articles by Ida Bare, historian of the Protection Historical Society, printed in the *Protection Post*, include "Red Bluff," May 9 and 16, 1947, and "Protection, Its Name," May 23. Red Bluff was an early-day post office in Comanche county. Entries in the James W. Dappert diary for the period of December 1, 1885, to March 18, 1886, were published in the *Post* from February 21 to May 2, 1947. The Dappert diary also was published in the *Wilmore News*, March 7, 21, 28, April 18, 25, May 2, 9 and 16.

The McPherson *Daily Republican* published a diamond jubilee edition on May 10, 1947, in connection with the city's three-day celebration, May 14-16, of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the staking out of the McPherson townsite. Subjects in the jubilee edition included: Location of the McPherson townsite, route of the Santa Fe trail through McPherson county, by W. J. Krehbiel; historical sketch of McPherson county seats and courthouse, county named in honor of Gen. James B. McPherson, by Ed Weilepp; chronologies of city and county; founding of McPherson college; building of railroads to McPherson, last buffalo hunt in McPherson county, by L. E. Lindell; early-day prairie fires, the campaign to move the state capitol to McPherson, the horse-car line, by Mark Anson; the kidnapping of Mrs. Bassett, historical sketches of the churches, by Mrs. H. A. (Jessie Hill) Rowland; early-day McPherson schools, by Edith I. Haight, and a historical sketch of the *Daily Republican*. Also printed in the edition were many early-day pictures and reminiscences of these early settlers: Mrs. T. J. Darrah, Mrs. Charles McGiffert, Ralph C. Weight, Joe Kubin, Lydia Martin Park, and Mrs. Christine Nordstrom. Reminiscences of Mrs. Nordstrom were also printed in the *Marquette Tribune*, April 10. A 24-

page booklet, *Pioneer Days in McPherson*, written by Mrs. H. A. (Jessie Hill) Rowland and published by the McPherson Junior Chamber of Commerce, was issued in connection with the jubilee.

A centennial celebration in observance of the establishment of Osage mission in 1847 was held May 14-17, 1947, at St. Paul. Gov. Frank Carlson, one of the principal speakers, was inducted as an honorary member of the Osage Indian tribe. A 125-page volume, *Osage Mission*, edited by Mary Joyce and sponsored by St. Francis parish of St. Paul, was issued in connection with the centennial and contained historical sketches of both the mission and municipality of Osage Mission, which in 1895 was named St. Paul. The book was illustrated by drawings of early mission buildings and many views of the mission and community together with pictures of religious leaders and early residents of the community. Historical articles in the volume included these subjects: "The Jesuits at . . . Osage Mission," "An Historical Sketch of the Lorettoines in Southeastern Kansas," by Sister Lillian Owens, S. L., the Passionist Fathers at St. Paul, a sketch concerning the Sisters of St. Joseph, the schools of Osage Mission, the beginnings of the town, first railroads, Neosho county-seat contests, banks, churches, and newspapers of Osage Mission and St. Paul, and rosters of mayors and postmasters. Articles on the religious orders and leaders who have served at Osage mission and St. Paul were printed in special issues of the *St. Paul Journal*, May 1 and 8. A historical sketch of Osage mission appeared in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, May 12. Views of the centennial celebration were published in the *Parsons Sun*, May 14, 16 and 17.

The Merrill Springs hotel, a landmark near Carbondale, is being razed. The history of the 38-room frame structure, located adjacent to a medicinal springs, was sketched in the *Topeka State Journal*, May 16, 1947. The springs were used by the Indians in early days and later abandoned by them. The springs were rediscovered by M. D. Merrill, the article said. Kansas courtroom scenes of earlier decades were described by A. L. Shultz in an article, "Curtain Falls on Court Orator, Once-Great in County Seat Arena," which was printed in the *State Journal*, May 23.

The building of Fort Mann, pioneer outpost on the Santa Fe trail near present Dodge City, and dealings with the Indians about Fort Atkinson were described by C. C. Isely in an article in the country edition of the *Wichita Eagle*, May 18, 1947. Isely locates the site

of Fort Mann as three miles west of Dodge City. Fort Mann was established by the army in the 1840's as a halfway station between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe. It was abandoned by 1850 and in the early 1850's Fort Atkinson was built on or near the same site, only to be abandoned two or three years later. Isely pointed out that various observations by early authors reported these forts east of the 100th meridian. This, he said, has raised the question whether or not the fort was east of Dodge City through which the meridian passes. "The apparent difficulty," Isely asserted, "is easily resolved by the fact that the western line of the Osage reservation, directed to be located on the 100th meridian, and still shown on all maps, was mislocated by the early surveyors a mile and a half west of Fort Atkinson. The location of Fort Atkinson has been made more certain by J. P. McCollom who for twelve years owned the farm which included the site. While leveling the land for irrigation he found the outlines of the fort clearly defined by the slight elevation of the ground. The color and texture of the soil, the marked difference in the strip of wheat growing, the ashes frequently plowed up which must have been dumped beside the original wall, support his findings. More particularly, he located a wagon repair shop where a barrellful of wagon pieces were found." Isely said that Ed and Bud Riney and Tom Bell, who as boys played about the low mounds of the old fort walls, and F. A. Hobbble, whose parents homesteaded nearby, all identify the site discovered by McCollom.

Dodge City observed the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding with a three-day jubilee celebration held on May 23, 24 and 25, 1947. The Santa Fe railroad was built to Dodge City in September, 1872, and the town was established the same year. Highlight of the celebration was an anniversary parade which included an ox-team and cart driven by Adley Sullivan of Guymon, Okla., and a buffalo and cart driven by James Brillhart of Perryton, Tex. Automobiles dating back to 1906 were in the procession. Rear Admiral John Gingrich, native of Dodge City, was a guest of honor and speaker. Other jubilee features were model airplane contests and an air show. A 56-page illustrated booklet was published by the Dodge City Chamber of Commerce in connection with the celebration. It contains early-day views of the community as well as pictures of present-day buildings. Historical feature articles published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe* were: "Dodge City Named For Army Officer at July, 1872, Meeting," May 20, and "History of

Famous Song ['Home on the Range'] Is Reviewed," by H. F. Schmidt, May 23. Other historical articles in the May 23 issue were: "Story of Historic Caches . . .," by C. C. Isely, and biographical information on Admiral Gingrich.

Evidence in support of the belief that Coronado's journey to Quivira may have carried him as far north as the present Kansas-Nebraska boundary, was cited in A. Q. Miller's column in the *Belleville Telescope*, June 5, 1947. Miller also pointed out his belief that the Quivira village which Coronado found was the same Pawnee village that Pike visited in 1806. The site of the village is now marked by Pawnee State Park, near Republic.

Florence observed its diamond jubilee on June 9, 1947, in celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of its incorporation as a city. It was named in honor of Florence Crawford, daughter of Gov. Samuel J. Crawford and the late wife of Sen. Arthur Capper. In connection with the jubilee the *Florence Bulletin*, on June 5, printed a number of historical sketches. The articles included stories of the first Fred Harvey hotel at Florence and the part the Santa Fe railroad played in the city's history, by Mrs. Margaret Irwin Haucke; a history of Florence, by Jereldine Jensen; a historical sketch of the *Bulletin*, rosters of Florence city officials from 1872 to 1946, and graduates of Florence High School from 1884 to 1946. A sketch of Florence, drawn in 1878, also was printed in the issue.

"Bits o' History," a daily feature, was started in the Council Grove *Republican*, June 19, 1947. Contents of the column are taken from the writings of John Maloy, early-day lawyer and newspaperman. He was the father of Mrs. L. H. Brigham of Council Grove.

Galena observed the seventieth anniversary of the incorporation of the city with a celebration June 19-21, 1947. Awards were made to old-timers and Mrs. Amy Ashworth, age 86, was declared the oldest resident. She has resided in the Galena community 83 years. Druzilla McGuire, second-oldest resident, has lived in the community 80 years. The *Galena Sentinel-Times* in its June 26 issue published a list of persons who have resided in Galena for 70 years and also the names of 60-year and 50-year residents. The *Sentinel-Times* published a historical sketch of the city, June 19.

Kansas Historical Notes

Formal dedication of the boyhood home of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower at Abilene as a national shrine was held June 22, 1947. A deed to the home was presented to C. M. Harger, president of the Eisenhower Memorial Foundation, by Milton S. Eisenhower, president of Kansas State College, who represented the Eisenhower family at the ceremony. The two-story frame house, for many years the home of General Eisenhower's parents, Mr. and Mrs. David Eisenhower, will be retained as it stands as a part of the \$1,000,000 memorial planned by the foundation. Gov. Frank Carlson was the chief speaker at the dedicatory ceremony.

Another ship in World War II bearing the name of an illustrious Kansan was the *Frederick Funston*. (For other ships see pp. 113-126, in the May, 1947, issue of the *Quarterly*.) Launched on September 27, 1941, at Tacoma, Wash., this vessel was unique in that it was the first United States ship built exclusively for use as an army transport vessel. It was christened by Miss Barbara Funston, daughter of the famous general. At the time of the launching, the *Frederick Funston* was one of 30 C-3 type ships that had been built at the Seattle-Tacoma Shipbuilding Company yards, but nearly all the other ships of that type were constructed as cargo vessels. The vessel displaces 17,600 tons and is powered by steam turbines. Gen. Frederick Funston (1865-1917) was reared near Iola and attended the University of Kansas for two and a half years. Attracted to the Cuban cause after the outbreak of the insurrection in 1895, he went to Cuba in 1896 and served in the artillery, and was advanced to lieutenant-colonel. Funston returned to the United States just prior to the Spanish-American war and was named by Gov. John W. Leedy to command the 20th Kansas regiment. The regiment formed a part of the Philippine expeditionary force. He was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers and received the Congressional Medal of Honor after the battle of Calumpit. In March, 1901, Funston engineered and executed a daring raid on Luzon in which Aguinaldo was captured. He then was given the rank of brigadier-general in the regular army. General Funston subsequently served as commandant of the army's Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, and was promoted to major-general. He was in command on the Mexican bor-

der when General Pershing was sent into Mexico after Villa. Among other famous army leaders who served under General Funston on the border were General Eisenhower, then a lieutenant, and Gen. Douglas MacArthur, then a captain.

The ninetieth anniversary of the founding of Emporia was observed at a meeting of the Lyon county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society April 19, 1947, in the chapter's museum room in the Emporia Civic auditorium. The observance also marked the opening of the chapter's postwar activity. Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, explained the work of the Kansas society and cited opportunities for the Lyon county museum. The Lyon county chapter recently received the gift of a collection of 21 guns from L. M. Sutton, of Reading. Some of the guns date back to the early 1800's. E. J. Lewis is president of the chapter.

The Republic County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held May 10, 1947, in Belleville. Temporary officers are: Mrs. H. J. Adams, Belleville, president; Mrs. Sam H. Blair, Belleville, vice-president; Mrs. O. E. McMullen, Courtland, secretary, and Mrs. Gilbert H. Faulkner, Belleville, treasurer. Mrs. McMullen is in charge of the society's project of compiling a record of homesteads in Republic county which remain in the families of the original settlers. Lists of such homesteads as compiled to date were printed in the Belleville *Telescope*, May 8, 1947, June 5, 12, 19 and 26.

Horse-drawn cars and the old coal gas plant were among the subjects recalled at the annual picnic of the Sedgwick County Pioneer Society held June 7, 1947, at Wichita. The historical photo and print collections of John P. Davidson, president of the society, were displayed.

An article, "The Junior Historian Movement in the Public Schools," by Horace Bailey Carroll, has been printed as Vol. I, No. 12 (February, 1947), of the *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History*. Carroll is professor of history at the University of Texas and editor of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* and of *The Junior Historian*. Copies of the bulletin may be obtained from the association's secretary, Earl D. Newton, Supreme Court Building, Montpelier, Vt.

The first installment of the reprint of *Shawnee County Townships—William Cone's Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Kansas* appears in the March, 1947, issue of the *Bulletin of The Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka. The Cone sketch, published in 1877, is being reproduced in the *Bulletin* with the approval of Mr. Cone's heirs. Mr. Cone served in the circulation and advertising departments of the *Kansas Farmer* and *Topeka Daily Capital* and later was an employee of the Kansas State Historical Society. His daughters, Mrs. A. M. Harvey, and Miss Mamie Cone, reside in Topeka. Other subjects in the March issue include "The Founding of Topeka" and the second installment of the "Chronology of Shawnee County," by George A. Root, for the closing months of 1854 and the first eight months of 1855. Cecil Howes is editor of the *Bulletin*.

Some problems of the terminology of geography were discussed by Dr. James C. Malin in an article entitled "Grassland, 'Treeless,' and 'Subhumid,'" printed in a recent number of *The Geographical Review* (v. 37, No. 2, 1947), of Burlington, Vt., publication of the American Geographical Society. Dr. Malin is professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, and is associate editor of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

"Kansas Banking During the War Economy Period, 1939-1945," is the title of a study by L. J. Pritchard printed by the University of Kansas Publications of Lawrence in 1946 as No. 7 of the *Industrial Research Series*.

A pictorial story of the opening of the West and the evolution of the Southwest is presented in *The Santa Fe Trail*, 271-page book of illustrations prepared by the editors of *Look* magazine and published by Random House late in 1946. Subjects include the era of exploration, "Manifest Destiny," trail-breakers, the coming of the railroad, peopling the prairie and the modern Southwest.

Autobiography of William Colfax Markham is the title of a 241-page book recently published by Ransdell Inc., Washington, D. C. Markham was the first secretary of the Kansas state highway commission and nationally known in highway circles for more than two decades, serving as executive secretary of the American Association of State Highway Officials from 1923 until 1942. A considerable portion of the volume is devoted to Markham's career at Baldwin, first as a student at Baker University and then as editor of the

Baldwin *Ledger*, beginning August 11, 1893, and continuing until after he entered highway work. The visit of President Taft to Baldwin on September 24, 1911, is described. The Taft address was scheduled as part of the ceremonies inaugurating Dr. Wilbur N. Mason as president of Baker University.

Victoria, the Story of a Western Kansas Town, by Marjorie Gamet Raish, has been published as No. 3 of the Language and Literature Series of the *Fort Hays Kansas State College Studies of Hays*. This 83-page study is a history of the English colony at Victoria from the purchase of the land from the Kansas Pacific railroad by George Grant in 1872 until the end of the colony in the early 1880's.

A 32-page booklet, *Ellsworth, Kansas, 1867-1947*, by George Jelinek, was recently issued. It deals with the first settlement and early events of Ellsworth county and the establishment of Fort Ellsworth. The founding of the city of Ellsworth in 1867, the year the Union Pacific was constructed westward to that point, is described. The booklet sets out the locations of early-day business houses and incidents in Ellsworth in its cow-town era. The publication is illustrated by numerous scenes of the late 1860's and early 1870's together with other views of the community in the 1880's and later decades.

The committee on research in folklore, of the American Folklore Society, annually publishes in *The Journal of American Folklore* a list of folklore projects which are in progress. The writing of books, monographs, special studies, library research, and field collecting are included. Folklorists are requested to send information on their current activities to Herbert Halpert, 60 West Winter Street, Delaware, Ohio, before September 10.

Coal Reserves in Kansas, by G. E. Abernathy, J. M. Jewett, and W. H. Schoewe, is the title of a 20-page booklet printed in March, 1947, by the University of Kansas Publications, Lawrence, as *Bulletin 70, Part 1* of the State Geological Survey of Kansas.

The life of a "horse-and buggy" lawyer in the 1890's and early 1900's is described in the book *Sam Jones, Lawyer*, by Ben Jones, his son, published recently by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. Sam Jones located at Lyons at the time the late Sen. William E. Borah was practicing law there. The 218-page volume contains humorous stories of the lawyer's experiences.

Natural Resources: Their Relation To Power and Peace is the title of a 20-page pamphlet by Dr. Frank T. Stockton, issued recently by the Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

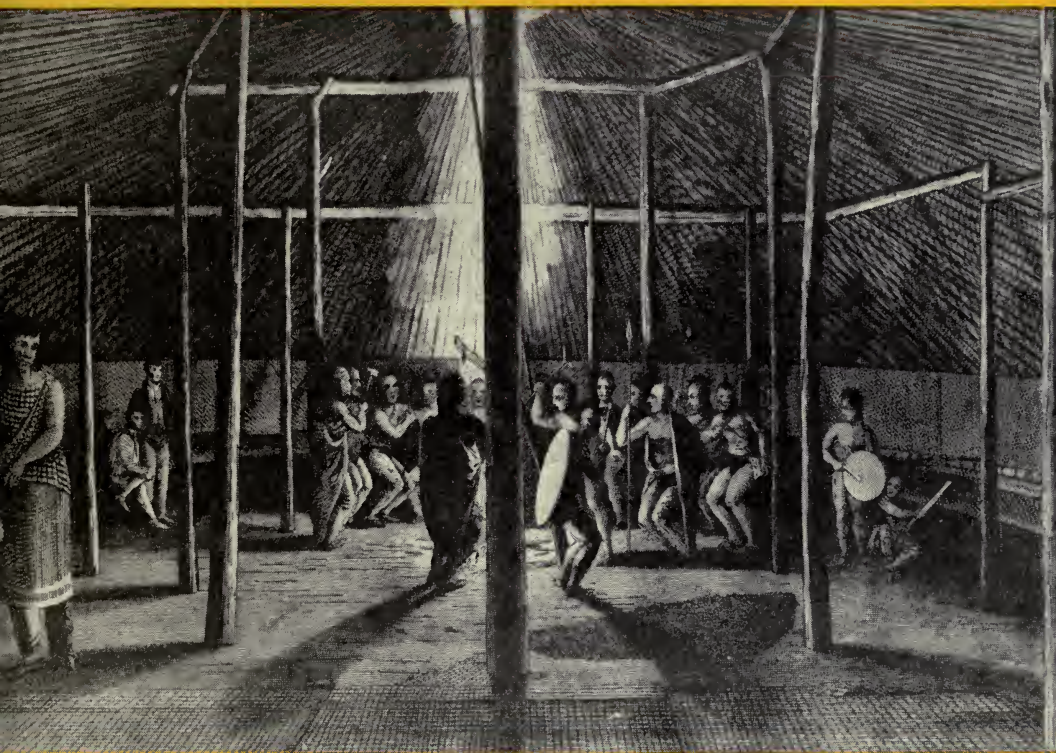
The Abraham Lincoln Association, First National Bank Building, Springfield, Ill., solicits information concerning the present private ownership and location of any document composed by Abraham Lincoln, whether or not it has been published hitherto. Documents in public institutions are readily accessible, but many of those held by individuals have not been located to date. The preparation of a complete edition of Lincoln's writings from original sources will be greatly facilitated by information leading to procurement of photostatic copies of documents held by private individuals. Any assistance the association receives will be acknowledged in the publication.

William Allen White's America, a 621-page book by Dr. Walter Johnson, originally scheduled for publication by Henry Holt and Company of New York on March 15, 1947, was issued instead on August 11. A chapter from this work proved a popular feature of the February, 1947, number of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. It has been learned that the book is the August selection of the Non-Fiction Book Club. This is the second of two volumes written by Dr. Johnson of the history department of the University of Chicago after several years' study of the life of Mr. White. The first volume was issued in January under the title *The Selected Letters of William Allen White*. The books form an excellent study and illustrate the extensive contacts Mr. White had and maintained nationally and locally during his lifetime. Dr. Johnson, with Miss Alberta Pantle, a member of the staff of the Historical Society, also compiled a bibliography of Mr. White's writings which appeared in the February *Quarterly*. Before Mr. White died Dr. Johnson had micro-filmed a part of his voluminous correspondence and other papers, and a positive copy of the film is now available at the Kansas State Historical Society.



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THE COVER

A dog dance by the Kansas Indians at one of their former villages two miles east of present Manhattan, August 24, 1819. The picture is a reproduction of the sketch drawn by Samuel Seymour of the Maj. S. H. Long expedition. It was published in 1822 and is believed to be the first ever printed relating to what is now the state of Kansas.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XV

November, 1947

Number 4

Charles Curtis and the Kaw Reservation

BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

AT WASHINGTON in January, 1932, after most of the material in this article had been assembled, I asked Hon. Charles Curtis, Vice-President of the United States, to read the manuscript. It was labeled, "Kaws," and was prepared in connection with a study entitled, "Dissolution of the Osage Reservation."¹ Mr. Curtis had been in congress in the first decade of the century when the Kaw and Osage reservations in Oklahoma territory were dissolved and had taken an active part in the dissolutions.

Mr. Curtis read the manuscript, made notes useful in supplementing it, and in discussion he seemed especially interested in minors, their place and the protection given them in the dissolution of the Kaw reservation. His mother was a quarter-blood member of the Kansas or Kaw tribe.²

An examination of the Kaw papers in the archives in Washington showed that Curtis had been a man of peculiar importance among the Kaws. From his paramount influence among them came the policy and plan by which the reservation was broken up. His influence at Washington during the dissolution may be judged from the fact that he was chairman of the house committee on expenditures in the Interior Department, a member of the committee on Indian affairs, and chairman of the subcommittee having charge of Indian territory legislation.

The Kaw reservation embraced about 100,137 acres on the southern border of Kansas. It now constitutes the portion of Kay county, Oklahoma, east of the Arkansas river. The Kaws bought

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1. The history of the Kaws is entwined with that of the Osages. I am indebted to Mr. Curtis for assistance in preparation of the series of four articles, "Dissolution of the Osage Reservation," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 20 (1942), pp. 244-254, 375-387; v. 21 (1943), pp. 78-88, 171-182.

2. I had written that Curtis' mother was a full-blood member of the tribe, having taken the statement from *The Encyclopedia Americana* (New York and Chicago, 1918, 1929, 1932), v. 8, p. 316. Mr. Curtis made a notation correcting the error.

the reservation from the Osages, and like the Osages had removed from Kansas.

In the late 1860's the Kaws were living in Kansas on the verge of starvation. Their population was less than 700 and they were noticeably decreasing in number. In the neighborhood of Council Grove they had a diminished reserve of some 80,000 acres, while their "trust lands" adjoining the reserve consisted of 175,000 acres.³

To provide for the removal and most urgent necessities of the Kansas Indians, \$25,000 was appropriated by act of congress approved February 14, 1873, said amount to be reimbursed from the proceeds of the sale of their lands in Kansas.⁴ The Kaws left their reservation in Kansas on June 4 and arrived at their new reservation in the Indian territory on June 21 "without the loss of one member, and without having had any difficulty with the whites or among themselves." Their number was 533.⁵

The new reservation was in the region known as the Cherokee outlet. The Osages paid the Cherokees for lands in the Kaw reservation. By proper transfer of funds arising from the sale of their lands in Kansas, the Kaws on October 27, 1881, reimbursed the United States the amount of \$70,096.12 paid to the Osages for lands occupied by the Kaws in the Indian territory.⁶ Thus the Kaws purchased their reservation at the rate of seventy cents an acre. The reservation was included in the lands which the Cherokees by deed of June 14, 1883, relinquished to the United States in trust for the use and benefit of the Osages and Kaws.

In less than ten years after the Kaws paid for their reservation, the United States government entered upon a vigorous policy of dissolving reservations in the western half of Indian territory, known after May 2, 1890, as Oklahoma territory. There from 1890

3. Francis A. Walker, commissioner of Indian affairs, to Secretary of the Interior, December 2, 1871, in *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., v. 1 (Serial No. 1481), Doc. No. 10; Kansas or Kaw Indians v. United States, 80 Ct. Cls., 264; 288 (1934); Charles C. Royce, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1899), Pt. 2, pp. 822, 823, map 27; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (hereinafter cited as *RCIA*), 1868, pp. 260-262.

The Kaws in 1850 numbered 1,700. In regard to their rapid decrease in population, and their removal from Kansas, see Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 277-282.

4. 17 *Statutes*, 461. In subsequent legislation congress referred to the "Kansas or Kaw Tribe."—32 *Statutes*, 636; 43 *Statutes*, 176.

5. Agent Mahlon Stubbs to Supt. Enoch Hoag, September 1, 1873, in *RCIA*, 1873, pp. 202, 334.

6. OIA (Office of Indian Affairs), "Indian Appropriations," Ledger 28, folio 5; OIA, "Indian Requisitions," v. 93 (No. 99), Requisition No. 4398. A fuller history is found in the report of the general accounting office concerning the petition of the Kansas or Kaw tribe, court of claims, No. F-64. A copy is in the court of claims. The opinion of the court is in 80 Ct. Cls., 264 (1934). See, also, court of claims, *Printed Records*, v. 677, pp. 289, 290.

Unless otherwise stated, the remainder of the OIA materials cited in this article are in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

to 1893 the Cherokee commission negotiated eleven agreements. By these agreements about twelve thousand Indians sold their reservations to the government and received allotments as part of the consideration for relinquishment. The reservations embraced fifteen million acres.⁷ The surplus lands were opened to white settlement.

Indians on the Osage, Kaw, Ponca, and Otoe and Missouri reservations had acquired titles by purchase, and were the only tribes in Oklahoma territory to resist successfully the offers and threats of the Cherokee commission.⁸ The four reservations formed a compact area on the southern border of Kansas just west of the 96th meridian, or west of the site of present Bartlesville, Okla.

In 1890 Agent Laban J. Miles of the Osage agency at Pawhuska, to which agency the Kaw reservation was attached, reported that the Kaws were opposed to taking allotments, claiming that it would eventually deprive them of lands which they had paid for and to which they had received a pledge that they should receive a title in fee.⁹ In the spring of 1892 a number of mixed-bloods expressed a desire to take allotments but insisted on having 160 acres per capita set apart for them. Miles said that he knew of no law by which they could receive that amount and the request of the Indians was withdrawn. Since the Cherokee commission was expected weekly, Miles deferred the matter until their arrival.¹⁰

In council with the Pawnees on November 16, 1892, David H. Jerome, chairman of the Cherokee commission, said:

Congress has resolved that it will open this whole country west of 96° after the Indians have taken their homes. . . . Under the law that Congress passed creating this Commission we have made contracts for all of this territory except what is north and east of you. There is so little territory that is not under contract that it is unreasonable to suppose that the Government would stop when there is such a little spot left. There is no question about Congress having power, but it is only a question of kindness to the Indians as to how it shall be brought about.¹¹

On June 23, 1893, the commission went to the Osage agency, re-

7. Berlin B. Chapman, "The Final Report of the Cherokee Commission," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 19 (1941), p. 305.

8. The best record of the offers and threats is the stenographic account of the negotiations of the Cherokee commission, OIA, ISP (Irregular Sized Papers), Drawer 14.

9. Laban J. Miles to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 27, 1890, in *RCIA*, 1890, p. 190.

10. Same to same, August 30, 1892, *ibid.*, 1892, p. 391.

11. Proceedings of the councils the Cherokee commission held with the Pawnees, pp. 123, 124. The proceedings are in OIA, ISP, Drawer 14. In 1901 Gov. William M. Jenkins estimated that if the four reservations were opened to settlement, allotments being made as provided by the general allotment act, the residue lands would amount to 1,255,886 acres.—"Report of Governor of Oklahoma," 1901, in *House Documents*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 4293), p. 440.

mained almost a month, and in the meantime sought interviews with members of the Kaw tribe. They ascertained that the Kaws would only follow when the Osages led, so they did not visit them at their homes.¹² The surplus lands of the four reservations were not sold to the government and none was opened to white settlement.

During the half dozen years after 1893 the matter of allotment on the Kaw reservation seems to have scarcely occurred to the agents in making their annual reports. The Kaws held their lands in common. According to custom each individual, with the consent of the tribe, could occupy as much land as he wished. In 1899 Agent William J. Pollock reported that no allotments had been made and that there was consequently a great inequality in the possession of lands. He pointed out that under existing conditions intermarried men and a few wealthy and more intelligent Indians were monopolizing vast areas without paying for their use.¹³

When the Kaws decided to take allotments they seem to have taken up the matter with one accord. No opposition party, so common in the dissolution of reservations, disturbed the progress of the work. On August 24, 1900, the national council passed unanimously "the following preamble and resolution":

Whereas certain interest peculiar to the Kaw Tribe of Indians both of land and money and [are] now pending before the Department at Washington, Be it therefore resolved by the Kaw Council this day in Session that we respectfully urge the Hon. Secretary of the Interior Through the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to allow a delegation of four (4) from the Kaw Tribe to wit: Wah-Shun-Gah, Governor, Forrest Chouteau Councilman, W. E. Hardy, Sect. and Achan Pappan Interpreter to visit Washington at the convenience of the Hon. Secretary of the Interior for the purpose as above stated, and that the expenses of said delegation be paid from the Kaw Tribal Funds.¹⁴

From Topeka on September 10 Curtis wrote to W. A. Jones, commissioner of Indian affairs, as follows: "You will remember I had a conversation with the Secretary and yourself in regard to a Delegation of Kaws visiting Washington. You both agreed if they would pass a resolution of their Council that you would permit them to make the trip. I hand you herewith a copy of the resolutions which have gone into the Department through the proper officers. I hope you will grant their request. It has been years since a dele-

12. Cherokee commission to the President, August 21, 1893, OIA, 7801 Indian division, 1893; C. A. Dempsey to commissioner of Indian affairs, September 5, 1893, in *RCIA*, 1893, p. 255.

13. Pollock to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 16, 1899, in *ibid.*, 1899, Pt. 1, p. 295.

14. The quotation is from a copy of the resolution in the Indian Office, F. 45020—1900.

gation of this Tribe visited Washington.”¹⁵ On October 18 Agent Oscar A. Mitscher forwarded to the office of Indian affairs a petition from the tribe requesting authority to visit Washington; authority was granted by E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, on October 25, and in the latter part of December the delegation was in Washington.¹⁶ The results of consultation there are difficult to assess, but the visit appears as a proper prelude to events of the next three years.

In 1901 Mitscher reported that all the Kaw Indians but three or four had made selections of 160 acres for a home.¹⁷ “The Kaws are anxious for allotment, and have asked for it,” said William M. Jenkins, governor of Oklahoma territory, in his report for that year.¹⁸ In compliance with the instructions of the Department of the Interior, Special Agent Frank C. Armstrong investigated conditions on the reservation and on December 16 the department received his recommendation that all the lands be allotted. Armstrong said that each person should be allotted 160 acres to be held under the provision of the general allotment act. He stated that much of the land was very valuable, and that the Indians could sell the surplus in 80- or 160-acre tracts for a better price than the government would pay.¹⁹

On the same day Curtis submitted to the office of Indian affairs a resolution of the tribal council, dated December 12, 1901, requesting the government at its own expense to resurvey the reservation so as to enable each member of the tribe to select 160 acres as a homestead.²⁰ “We ask for this resurvey in order that it may be easier to have our lands divided among our members,” reads the resolution. It was observed that a survey had been made some thirty years past but that many of the cornerstones had been removed or destroyed. Curtis stated that he hoped the request of

15. The letter of September 10, 1900, is marked “Personal.” It is filed with *ibid.* Curtis received a favorable reply. Com. W. A. Jones to Curtis, September 24, 1900, OIA, “F. Letter Book,” 642, p. 401.

16. Jones to Secretary of Interior, October 24, 1900, OIA, 7748 Ind. Div., 1900; Hitchcock to commissioner of Indian affairs, October 25, 1900, Interior Department “Letter Book,” 111, p. 88; same to same, December 27, 1900, *ibid.*, p. 591. Jones said it was not convenient to have the delegation come before December.—OIA, “F. Letter Book,” 646, p. 435.

17. Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 14, 1901, RCIA, 1901, Pt. 1, p. 328.

18. *House Documents, loc. cit.*

19. The report, under date of December 7, 1901, is in *House Documents*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 4361), Doc. No. 406, pp. 59, 60. The investigation was made in compliance with a provision in the Indian appropriation act of March 3, 1901 (31 Statutes, 1060). Armstrong outlined a plan for the division of the lands of the Osage reservation and said that his suggestion applied equally to the Kaws.—*House Documents, loc. cit.*, pp. 9, 10. The report was transmitted to congress February 20, 1902.

20. The resolution, and Curtis' letter of December 16, 1901, are in the Indian Office, Authority, 74008—1901.

the Indians would be granted.²¹ On December 21 Commissioner Jones recommended that authority be granted for the expenditure of \$2,500 for the resurvey and that the same be made under the supervision of the agent of the Osage agency.²² He stated that obliteration of monuments was quite likely, especially since the lands had been regularly leased for cattle grazing purposes during the past nine years.²³ The Secretary of the Interior granted the necessary authority January 8, 1902, and on February 7 Walter E. Stumph was directed to make the resurvey.²⁴

Early in the year, without the intervention of the Department of the Interior and without being urged by it, the Kaws proposed to make an agreement for the division of their lands, the distribution of their funds and the sale of their landed interests in Kansas. On January 15 Wah-shun-gah said in reply to a letter from Curtis:

I very much prefer a delegation to go to Washington, rather than attempt a settlement here, for to submit matters here would only delay our purpose. So I ask that a delegation of 7 representative Kaw Indians be allowed to come and treat with the Government for final disposition of our matters.²⁵

In transmitting the letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, Curtis wrote:

I believe this request of his should be granted, and would suggest that Wah-shun-gah, head chief, Forrest Chouteau, Wah-noh-o-e-ke, William Hardy, Mitch[ell] Fronkier, (all of the above are councilmen), and Akan Pappan and W. E. Hardy, who is Secretary and treasurer of the tribe, be on the delegation. If the above delegation is selected, the various elements of the tribe will be fully represented.²⁶

Secretary Hitchcock granted the necessary authority.²⁷ A general council was held February 1, 1902, and the seven named representatives, elected by majority vote, were authorized to prepare the agreement. They were empowered to "enter into such an agreement with the Government as they deem to be for the best interests of

21. See, also, the letter of Curtis to Jones, November 2, 1901, OIA, L. 62204—1901.

22. Jones to Secretary of Interior, December 21, 1901, OIA, "L. Letter Book," 513, pp. 177-179.

23. The surplus lands of the reservation were divided into fourteen pastures varying in area from 500 acres to about 10,500 acres. Pasture No. 13, containing 663 acres, was reserved for the common use of the Kaws. The remaining pastures, embracing more than one-half of the reservation or 69,383 acres, were subject to lease. The net revenue from the pastures in 1901 totaled \$26,413.63.—Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 14, 1901, *RCIA*, 1901, Pt. 1, p. 328; Tonner to Thomas Kelley, January 31, 1902, OIA, "L. Letter Book," 519, p. 16. The Kaws were allowed to take allotments within the pastures and plow them, the allotments to be deducted from the gross area. However, allotments could not interfere with water privileges of pastures.—Telegram from Tonner to W. F. Smith, February 12, 1902, OIA, "L. Letter Book," 520, p. 419.

24. Jones to Stumph, February 7, 1902, in *ibid.*, 520, pp. 68, 69.

25. The letter is in the Indian Office, F. 4323—1902.

26. Curtis to commissioner of Indian affairs, January 21, 1902.—*Ibid.*

27. Hitchcock to commissioner of Indian affairs, January 25, 1902, OIA, Authority, 74218—1902.

our said tribe.”²⁸ At Washington on February 8 they signed an “Agreement of the Kansas or Kaw Indians of Oklahoma Territory among themselves relative to their tribal lands and funds, and memorial to Congress.”²⁹ The agreement they signed was the product of Curtis’ pen.³⁰

According to the agreement the roll of the tribe as shown by the records of the local agency, as it existed on December 1, 1901, and listing all descendents of members born between that date and December 1, 1902, was declared to be the roll of the tribe for the distribution of lands and funds. There should be set apart to each member of the tribe 160 acres for a homestead which, with certain provisions, should be nontaxable and inalienable for a period of twenty-five years from January 1, 1903. Persons who had already selected homesteads should be allowed to retain them while others were directed to select homesteads within thirty days after the ratification of the agreement.

If any member of the tribe failed to make such selection within said time, then it should be the duty of the tribal agent to make the selection for such member or members. A provision stated that “selections of homesteads for minors shall be made by his or her parents.” There was a further provision that in case there were children born to members of said tribe between the ratification of the agreement and December 1, 1902, selection should be made for them within thirty days after their birth, and all selections must be made on or before January 1, 1903.

After the selection of homesteads the remaining Kaw lands in Oklahoma territory, with certain provisions, should be divided equally, in acres, among the members of the tribe, giving to each as nearly as practicable, the same number of acres of farming and

28. The credentials, dated February 1, 1902, are in *House Documents*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 4361), Doc. No. 452, pp. 9-11. Sixty-five of the seventy-six adults signed the credentials.

29. The document is in *ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

30. In a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs on December 16, 1901, Curtis stated that it was his “intention to prepare an agreement” to submit to the Indians which would enable them to carry out their desires with reference to the allotment and division of their lands. —OIA, Authority, 74008—1901. On July 22, 1902, he stated that he did not attend the deliberations of the Kaw delegation when they were considering the agreement. He added: “When I drew up the Agreement I did not recall the fact that it was customary to carry Members of the Tribe who die, upon the rolls until after the next payment.”—Curtis to A. C. Tonner, OIA, “Special Case 201,” 43, 594—1902.

I learned from Mr. Curtis that in the early 1890’s the Kaws were reluctant to make improvements on lands because at their death the tribal council could give the fruits of their labor to persons other than the heirs. He told the tribe that if they would make selections, improve them and have the superintendent at the Kaw subagency make record of the same, he would secure an arrangement whereby lands would descend to heirs. Selections were made accordingly and Mr. Curtis drew up the agreement.

Agent Mitscher said in 1901: “Credit for the present excellent financial condition of the Kaw Indians belongs largely to Congressman Charles Curtis, who by unremitting effort has, from a condition of poverty, placed the tribe in a position of affluence.”—Letter to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 14, 1901, *RCIA*, 1901, Pt. 1, p. 328.

grazing lands, and as near to the homestead of each as possible. The lands, other than homesteads, set aside to each member should be free from taxation as long as the title remained in said member, but in no event to exceed twenty-five years and, with certain provisions, the same should not be sold or encumbered in any way before the expiration of ten years from the date of the deed to said member. The uninherited lands of minors should be inalienable during their minority. Selections and allotments made under the agreement should conform to existing surveys in tracts of not less than eighty acres.

The administrative work in dividing the lands should be left almost entirely to the local agency and the Indians. It should be the duty of the agent, the clerk in charge of the Kaw subagency, together with a committee of three members of the tribe, to be selected jointly by the agent, clerk in charge, and the tribal council, to divide the surplus lands among the members of the tribe, in accordance with the agreement.

In the selection of homesteads, no member should be permitted to select lands already selected by another member of the tribe, unless the other member should be in possession of more lands than he and his family were entitled to under the agreement; in such case the member in possession should have the right to make the first selection. The Secretary of the Interior should furnish the head chief of the tribe deeds, properly filled out, for the conveyances provided for in the agreement; and the head chief was directed thereupon, and in the presence of the agent in charge of the tribe, to execute the deeds; after execution they should be delivered to the agent whose duty it was to see that they were properly delivered to members entitled to them. Each member should be entitled to a separate deed for lands conveyed as a homestead.

When a deed should be approved by the Secretary of the Interior and by the head chief it should operate as a relinquishment to the individual member of all the right, title, and interest of the United States and of the Kaw tribe (as a tribe) in and to the lands embraced therein. Disputes between members of the tribe as to the right of possession in the selection of homesteads should be adjudicated and settled by the agent, subject to the approval of the commissioner of Indian affairs.

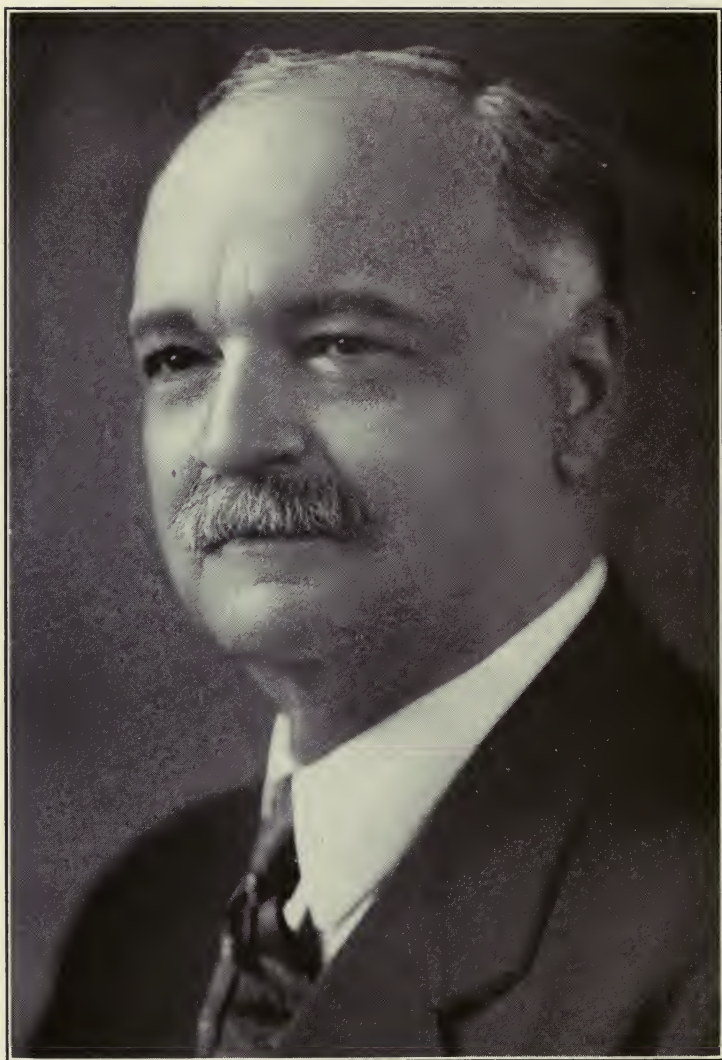
The Kaws should cede to the United States 160 acres including the grounds of the school and agency buildings. The United States should maintain a school there for the Kaws for at least ten years.



WAH-SHUN-GAH

CHIEF OF THE KAW INDIANS

The original portrait is now owned by the Oklahoma Historical
Society, Oklahoma City.



CHARLES CURTIS

1860-1936

Curtis, who was part Kaw Indian, was born in North Topeka. He represented Kansas in Washington as a representative and as a senator for many years, and from 1929 to 1933 he was Vice-President of the United States, the first native Kansan to be so honored.

Twenty acres should be reserved as a cemetery. Eighty acres at the Kaw agency³¹ (now Washunga) should be set aside as a townsite, which should be laid off into lots and sold at public auction.

The Secretary of the Interior should be empowered, in his discretion and at the request of any member of the tribe, to issue a certificate to such member authorizing the sale of any or all of his lands, and the acquisition of a pro rata share of the funds of the tribe. The member should then have the right to manage and dispose of his property the same as any other citizen of the United States, but his lands should be subject to taxation, and his name should be dropped from the rolls of the tribe. Adult heirs could sell and convey inherited lands, and so could minors, under certain legal regulations. But all conveyances of heirs were subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and to rules and regulations prescribed by him.

On February 21, 1902, Agent Mitscher transmitted the agreement and memorial to Commissioner Jones with his approval.³² "The agreement they present represents the unanimous wish of the tribe," Mitscher said, "and I feel convinced that their action is well advised, and that they are prepared to assume the responsibility." He observed that tribal conditions discounted individual effort and that "a community of interests tends to dependence, carelessness, indifference, shiftlessness, and downright laziness." Commissioner Jones also endorsed the agreement, saying that as a whole the tribe was probably as nearly ready as any in the country to be placed upon its own resources.³³ He observed that the agreement was in entire harmony with the views of the office of Indian affairs as expressed in the last two annual reports. On March 10 the agreement was transmitted to the house of representatives³⁴ and on July 1 it was incorporated without material change in an act of congress.³⁵

During the summer of 1902 Mitscher wrote: "Allotment has occupied the center of the stage the past year upon the Kaw reserva-

31. "The Kaw Agency . . . is located at the extreme south end of the Kaw Reservation, on high ground heavily timbered, and 1 mile from the Arkansas River and on the banks of Little Beaver River, the most sylvan spot in the Indian service."—Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 21, 1900, *RCIA*, 1900, p. 337.

32. Letter of February 21, 1902, OIA, "Special Case 201," 12057—1902.

33. Jones to Secretary of Interior, March 1, 1902, *Senate Reports*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 4264), Report No. 2099, pp. 2, 3. "The agreement," said Jones, "proposes the abolishment of tribal organization and an equal division of the lands and an equal distribution of the tribal funds. This is in line with the new policy which must be adopted in dealing with the Indian if he is to be made self-supporting and to become a useful member of the community in which he lives."

34. Thomas Ryan to speaker of the house of representatives, March 10, 1902, *House Documents*, loc. cit., p. 1.

35. 32 *Statutes*, 636.

tion. Little else noteworthy has occurred to merit remark."³⁶ On June 23 Mitscher submitted to the office of Indian affairs a schedule of homestead allotments prepared by Stumph under his direction, which schedule was thought to contain the names of all Indians entitled to allotments up to that time.³⁷ The schedule could not be closed prior to December 1, 1902, since descendents of allottees born during the year previous to that date were entitled to allotments. It was subsequently determined that there were twelve children so entitled, eleven of whom were born between June 20 (the date of the close of the former schedule) and December 1.

On February 23, 1903, Mitscher forwarded to the office of Indian affairs a complete or "Final" roll of the tribe, containing the names of 247 persons,³⁸ together with the description and acreage of the homestead selection allotted to each person.³⁹ The schedule was transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior on March 21 and approved by him three days later. The commissioner of Indian affairs was directed to prepare deeds for the conveyance of the allotments by the head chief of the tribe to the respective allottees, as shown by the schedule, in accordance with the provisions of the agreement. Homestead allotments embraced a total of 39,670 acres.

It has been observed that the homestead selections were practically completed before the agreement was ratified by congress. According to the agreement the surplus lands could not be prorated until after January 1, 1903.⁴⁰ The schedule of homestead selections constituted the basis upon which the remainder of the lands were divided; that is to say, all persons whose names appeared upon the

36. Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 21, 1902, *RCIA*, 1902, Pt. 1, p. 293.

37. Letter to commissioner of Indian affairs, June 23, 1902, OIA, "Special Case 201," 37866—1902. The "Schedule of Homestead Allotments" should not be confused with the "Schedule of Allotments of Surplus Lands." The latter is sometimes called the "Schedule of Additional Allotments." The schedules are in the Indian Office, "Schedules of Allotments," No. 26. They have not been transferred to the National Archives.

38. The tribal roll was adhered to although only 218 persons were alive at the close of the fiscal year 1903. Eighty-nine were full bloods.—Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 22, 1903, *RCIA*, 1903, Pt. 1, p. 269. Mitscher was instructed that if a person whose name was on the roll were dead, the date of death should be noted on the schedule.—Tel. from Jones to Mitscher, April 2, 1902, OIA, "L. Letter Book," 529, p. 285.

39. Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, February 23, 1903, OIA, "Special Case 201," 13516—1903. The roll is filed with the letter. The following excerpt is from the roll:

No.	Name	Relation	Sex	Age	Sub. Div.	Sec.	Town.	Range	Acres
138	Curtis Charles....	Head	M	41		NE 26	27	4	160
139	Curtis Permelia...	Daut.	F	15	W 1/2	NE 10	..	..	..
					N 1/2	SE 10	28	4	160
140	Curtis Harry K. ..	Son	M	11	NE 3/4	NE 23	..	..	
					Lts. 6, 7, 8, 9	23	28	3	161.15
141	Curtis Leona J....	Daut.	F	8		NW 10	28	4	160

40. Acting Commissioner A. C. Tonner to John F. McDermott, September 29, 1902, OIA, "L. Letter Book," 561, p. 254.

approved schedule of homestead selections were entitled to receive a pro rata share of the surplus lands, and only such persons could participate in the distribution.

On January 17 the Department of the Interior approved instructions for the division of the surplus lands and on January 23 the same were sent to Mitscher.⁴¹ It was expected that he would be aided greatly in the matter of getting a nearly equal division of lands in acres among the members of the tribe by a judicious use of the many "lots" containing less than the legal subdivision of forty acres which occurred along the Arkansas river. It was pointed out that quite a large number of the lots had been taken in the homestead selections, and by reason thereof, in not a few cases, homesteads contained less than 160 acres. In such cases, where practicable, it was expected that an effort would be made to supplement this deficiency so that all members might ultimately receive very nearly the same number of acres. The instructions stated that so far as practicable all the farming lands of each member of the tribe should lie in a compact body and all the grazing lands in one compact body.

The provision in the agreement stating that all selections and allotments should conform to existing surveys of the reservation in tracts of not less than eighty acres was an impossible one in reference to allotting the surplus lands. On February 10 Mitscher reported that this provision had met with the compliance of the tribe, there being no homestead selections of less than eighty acres in one tract; but that in dividing the surplus lands it seemed impossible to comply strictly with the provision since there were several instances of forty-acre tracts which were entirely surrounded by homestead selections.⁴² In reply, A. C. Tonner, acting commissioner of Indian affairs, stated that "it was not intended to instruct the Kaw Allotment Commission to do impossible or impracticable things."⁴³ He explained that where there were isolated tracts of less than eighty acres, or isolated lots along the Arkansas river of less than forty acres, necessarily these tracts would have to be assigned in less quantities than that mentioned in the agreement.

The Kaw allotment commission was composed of Mitscher, Edson Watson (the clerk in charge of the Kaw subagency), Chief Wahshun-gah, Forrest Chouteau, and William Hardy. The three tribal

41. Tonner to Mitscher, January 23, 1903, in *ibid.*, 580, p. 76. The letter of instructions, under date of January 14, 1903, is in the Indian Office, *ibid.*, 578, pp. 117-122. Instructions to Mitscher for laying out the townsite are under the same date and are in *ibid.*, pp. 166-169.

42. Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, February 10, 1903, OIA, "Special Case 201," 10874-1903.

43. Tonner to Mitscher, March 12, 1903, OIA, "L. Letter Book," 591, p. 112.

members were selected on February 6, 1903, in the manner prescribed in the agreement. Since there was no provision in the agreement for the payment of the three persons selected, the council passed a resolution petitioning the commissioner of Indian affairs that four dollars per day be allowed each of them and also that the same compensation be allowed an interpreter while actually attending to the business of the commission.⁴⁴ The money was to be "payable from grass money or any other tribal funds available." Provision for compensation and for certain expenses was accordingly made.

On April 8 the commission met, organized by electing Mitscher chairman, and commenced the division of the surplus lands.⁴⁵ On April 17 Mitscher reported that the division had been accomplished "to the entire satisfaction of the members of the tribe,"⁴⁶ and on May 26 he forwarded the schedule to the commissioner of Indian affairs.⁴⁷ The schedule was approved by Secretary Hitchcock on June 27. On July 17 authority was granted for Mitscher to have recorded in the office of the recorder of deeds of Kay county both the homestead and additional allotment deeds, the cost to be paid by the Indians.⁴⁸

The work incident to dividing and prorating the lands was accomplished by the local agency with no additional clerical force, at an expense to the tribe of about \$200, and with remarkable harmony. In 1932 Curtis observed, somewhat with a sense of satisfaction, that there was not a single contest over the division of lands. *Shepard's Oklahoma Citations* shows that it has not been necessary for the supreme court of the United States or the supreme court of Oklahoma to interpret the agreement he drew up.

From Mitscher's annual report of 1903 and the "Schedule of Allotments of Surplus Lands," it appears that in the division of the surplus lands 60,263 acres were allotted to 247 allottees. Thus each member of the tribe secured about 245 acres in addition to a homestead of 160 acres.⁴⁹ The townsite was laid out in township twenty-seven north, range four east, and named "Washunga," after the principal chief. From June 25 to 30, 1903, there were 524 lots sold,

44. The resolution is in OIA, "Special Case 201," 10874—1903. It bears Mitscher's certification that it was passed February 6, 1903.

45. Tel. from Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, April 8, 1903, *ibid.*, 22670—1903.

46. Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, April 17, 1903, *ibid.*, 26623—1903.

47. Same to same, May 26, 1903, *ibid.*, 34406—1903.

48. Jones to Mitscher, July 23, 1903, OIA, "L. Letter Book," 616, p. 157.

49. Mitscher to commissioner of Indian affairs, August 22, 1903, *RCIA*, 1903, Pt. 1, p. 269.

bringing a total of \$6,065.⁵⁰ By act of congress approved on April 21, 1904, the reservation was attached to Kay county.⁵¹

In the agreement drawn up by Curtis and incorporated in an act of congress, was a provision that all claims, of whatever nature, which the Kaw tribe might have against the United States should be submitted to a commission to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior from the officers or employees of his department for investigation, consideration, and settlement; and the United States should, without delay, render to said tribe of Indians a complete accounting of all moneys agreed to be paid to said tribe to which they might be entitled under any treaty or act of congress.

A commission was accordingly appointed, consisting of William C. Braly, Charles J. Groseclose, and Edward B. Fox. Samuel J. Crawford, former governor of Kansas, was the attorney of record for the Kaws. His principal application was for the moneys due the Kaws as evidenced by various certificates of indebtedness or script transactions concerning lands in Kansas.

The commission made a report of more than seventy pages, including exhibits, and in conclusion said that the Kaws were entitled to \$155,976.88 in satisfaction of their claims.⁵² On November 26, 1904, the tribe, with some dissenting votes, passed a resolution agreeing to accept this sum "in full settlement of all its claims against the United States submitted to said commission."⁵³ The Indian appropriation act of March 3, 1905, provided for the payment of this sum to the Kaws, stating as a prior condition that the Kaws should execute and deliver to the United States a general release of "all claims and demands of every name and nature against the United States."⁵⁴

Edson Watson, superintendent of the Kaw training school at Washunga, convened a general council of the Kaws on April 22, 1905. On that day a release, as provided in the act of March 3, was executed.⁵⁵ Watson said: "There were 45 signatures for the release and there were none opposing it." The first signatures on the release are those of Washungah, Wah-mo-o-e-kah, Forrest Chouteau, William Hardy, Mitchell Fronkier, W. E. Hardy, and Charles Curtis.

50. Jones to Secretary of Interior, October 15, 1903, *ibid.*, p. 108.

51. 33 *Statutes*, 218.

52. The report of the commission, June 30, 1904, is in *House Documents*, 58 Cong., 3 Sess. (Serial 4830), Doc. No. 169.

53. The resolution is in *ibid.*, pp. 2, 3. See, also, Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, to Homer P. Snyder, May 19, 1924, *House Reports*, 68 Cong., 2 Sess., v. 2 (Serial 8391), Report No. 1394.

54. 33 *Statutes*, 1048, 1079.

55. The release and accompanying papers are in OIA, "Special Case 201," 36434—1905. There were 62 adult males in the tribe.

The sum appropriated by congress was credited to the tribe under the "Kansas consolidated fund."⁵⁶

The Kaws made claims for additional compensation from the government. In 1934 the court of claims, under a liberal jurisdictional act, investigated the financial relations between the tribe and the government. It found a valid claim for \$102,524.65 but a counter-claim of \$462,045.65, so that the Kaws were not entitled to judgment in any amount.⁵⁷

About 1923 it was found that some of the lands held by minor allottees contained very valuable oil and gas resources. On February 13 of that year Curtis introduced in the senate a bill providing that the period of restriction against alienation on surplus lands allotted to minor members of the Kaw tribe be extended for a period of twenty-five years in all cases where allottees had not reached the age of majority. The bill became a law on March 4.⁵⁸ On the reservation were 420 Kaws of whom 77 were full bloods. Those having less than half blood numbered 312.⁵⁹

The name of Charles Curtis has been indelibly stamped on legislation extending the white man's law over the Five Civilized Tribes, and finally disposing of their affairs. The role Curtis played in the dissolution of the reservation of his own tribe has been given more to supposition than to investigation. He had a profound interest in his tribe. His high position in the government enabled him to assist the Kaws in the dissolution of their reservation in Oklahoma territory, and in the prosecution of claims against the government.⁶⁰

Curtis took a homestead about a mile north of Washunga. His pro rata share of the surplus lands was 259 acres. His daughters took adjoining homesteads ten miles north of Washunga, and his son's homestead was southwest of theirs. The restrictions against alienation of the surplus lands expired in 1928. According to the office of

56. The agreement Curtis drew up provided that tribal funds amounting to \$189,153.30, and other tribal moneys that might accrue from the sale of lands in Kansas, from the sale of town lots in Oklahoma territory, from claims against the United States, and from other sources should be segregated and placed to the credit of the individual members of the tribe on a basis of a pro rata division as shown by the tribal roll on December 1, 1902. Interests of minors should be carefully safeguarded.

57. *Kansas or Kaw Indians v. the United States*, 80 *Ct. Cls.*, 264.

58. 42 *Statutes*, 1561. See the following acts concerning removal of restrictions on Kaw lands: March 3, 1909, 35 *Statutes*, 778; May 27, 1924, 43 *Statutes*, 176; February 27, 1926, 44 *Statutes*, 134.

59. Hubert Work to M. C. Garber, February 16, 1924, *House Reports*, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., v. 2 (Serial 8227), Report No. 269, pp. 2, 3.

60. In 1910 Laban J. Miles said: "In 1878, when I assumed charge of the Osage Agency, I found the names of two young people on the Kaw rolls; they were not on the reservation, and I dropped their names from the rolls. They never moved to or resided on the reservation. Their names were placed back on the rolls in 1889, I think it was. . . . One of these persons was Senator Curtis . . . ; a pretty good answer to the affiliation song." The statement is in *Osage Enrollment, Hearings before Subcommittee on H. 17819 and 21199*, p. 91. A copy is in the Library of Congress.

Indian affairs, restrictions on homesteads will not expire until 1948. As long as restrictions remain the homesteads are nonalienable and nontaxable except that the production of oil and gas and other minerals may be taxed by the state of Oklahoma in all respects the same as production on unrestricted land. Curtis devised his homestead allotment to his three surviving children, in equal shares, in a trust status. The will was approved by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior pursuant to the acts of June 25, 1910, and February 14, 1913.⁶¹

In 1945 the Kaws numbered 544, of whom 314 were residing at the jurisdiction where enrolled. About 87 percent of the lands of the Kaw reservation had been alienated through sales, patents in fee, certificates of competency, etc., leaving a tribal area of 13,261 acres.⁶² There is no tribal organization, and the tribe has a very small amount of money on deposit in the United States Treasury.

61. 36 *Statutes*, 855; 37 *Statutes*, 678; 43 *Statutes*, 176. Charles Curtis died February 8, 1936; Harry K. Curtis died May 29, 1946.

62. "Statistical Supplement" to the *RCIA*, 1945, pp. 10, 23.

Plan of Cantonment Leavenworth, 1828

[The Following Is a Verbatim Copy of the Original Descriptive Matter Accompanying the Sketch Shown on Opposite Page]

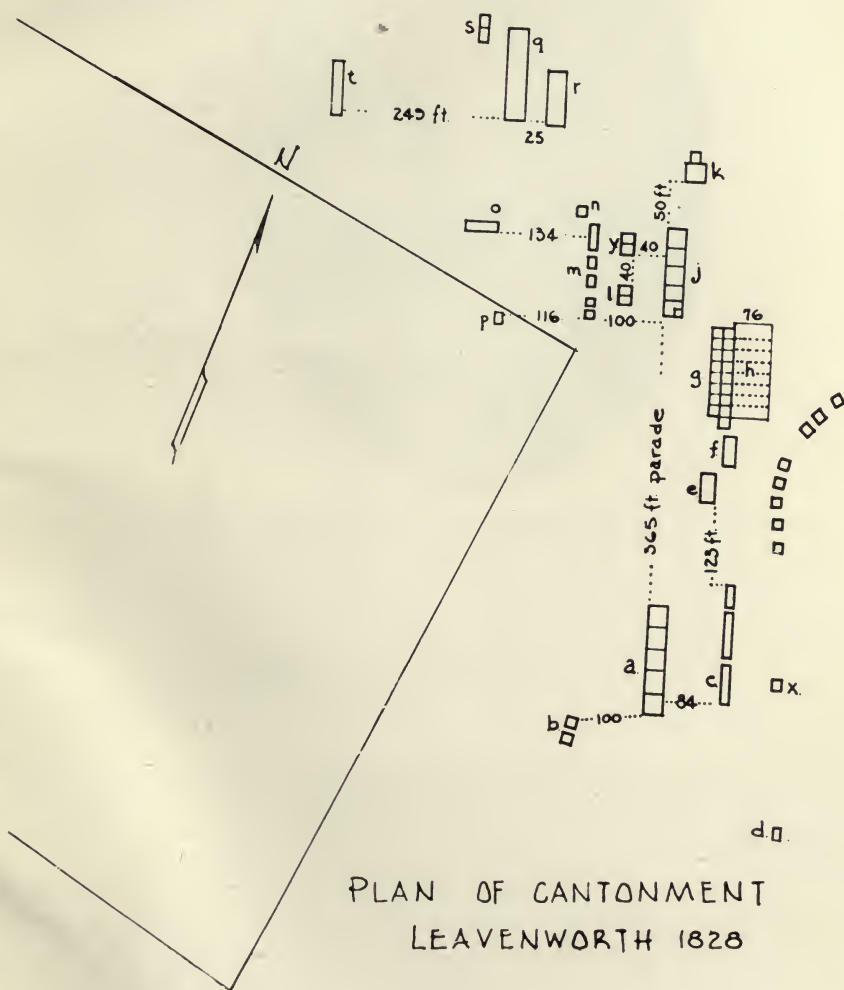
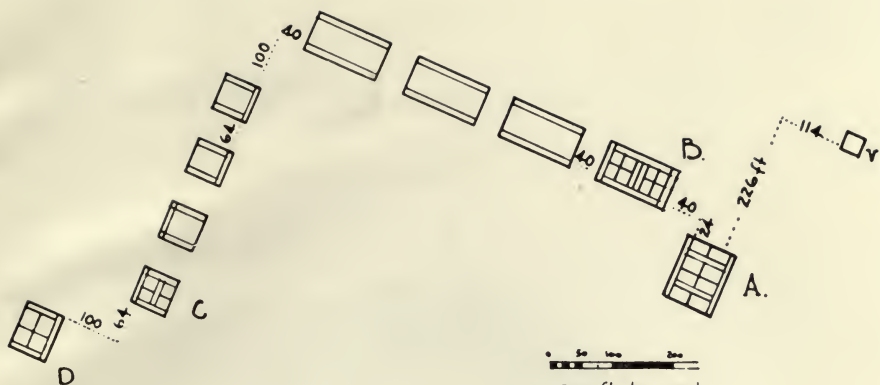
PERMANENT BUILDINGS

- A. *Commanding Officers' Quarters* (foundation walls complete): two story building; wood frame construction filled in with brick; two rooms at either end 20 by 19 feet; two halls each 10 feet wide; four rooms in the center, each 18 by 18 feet; piazzas, front and rear, each 8 feet wide; cellar kitchens
- B. *Officers' Quarters* (to be built): one story building 112 by 36 feet; hall at either end and two halls in center, each 10 feet wide; eight rooms, four adjoining, each 20 by 18 feet; piazzas, front and rear, each 8 feet wide; cellar kitchens
- C. *Soldiers' Quarters* (completed): one story building 52 by 36 feet; center hall 12 feet wide, two rooms on either side, each 21 by 18 feet; piazzas, front and rear, each 8 feet wide; cellar kitchens
- D. *Hospital* (completed): two story building 64 by 36 feet; hall at either end, 12 feet wide; four rooms each 20 by 18 feet; piazza in front, 8 feet wide; cellar kitchens

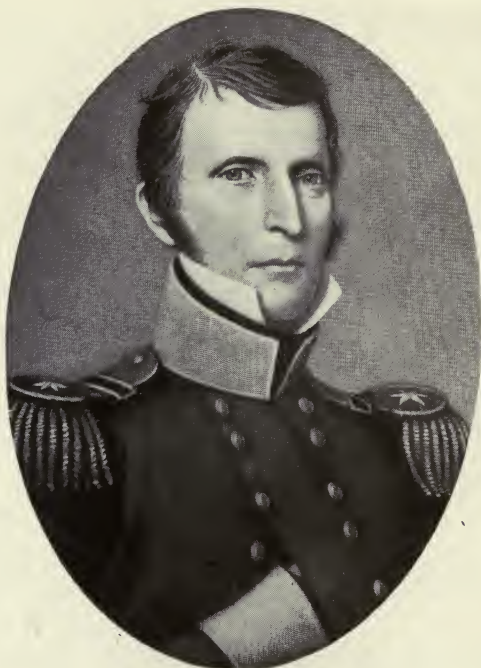
TEMPORARY QUARTERS

- a. *Soldiers' Quarters Left Wing*: tent 150 by 28 feet; four company rooms and one for guard, each 30 by 28 feet
- b. *Huts for Laundresses*: 15 by 10 feet, 15 by 12 feet
- c. *Huts for Laundresses*: 63 by 14 feet, 61 by 14 feet, 29 by 14 feet
- d. *Sink for Left Wing*: 16 by 10 feet
- e. *Sutler's Store House*: 41 by 20 feet
- f. *Sutler's Store House*: 41 by 16 feet
- g. *Officers' Quarters*: one story building, 124 by 31 feet; built of logs; rooms 16 by 15½ feet and 12 by 15½ feet
- h. *Officers' Yards and Kitchens*
- j. *Soldiers' Quarters Right Wing*: hut, 141 by 28 feet; four rooms for the companies, each 29 by 28 feet; one room for the guard, prisonary, and staff guard, 21 by 28 feet
- k. *Smith's Shop*
- l. *Kitchens for the Four Companies of the Right Wing*: 25 by 18 feet
- m. *Huts for Laundresses of the Right Wing*: 10 by 12 feet, 11 by 12 feet, 16 by 12 feet, 13 by 12 feet, and 38 by 12 feet
- n. *Board Kiln*: 16 by 10 feet
- o. *Bake House*: 45 by 16 feet
- p. *Sink for the Right Wing*: 16 by 10 feet
- q. *Commissary Store House*: 138 by 28 feet and quartermaster
- r. *Commissary Store House*: 45 by 28 feet
- s. *Hut for the Commissary Sergeant and Sergeant Major*: 32 by 13 feet
- t. *Sand Pit*: 80 by 17 feet
- v. *Ice House*: 22 by 22 by 22 feet deep

NOTE: The Commanding Officers' quarters are 300 yards from the river and about 200 feet above low water mark.



PLAN OF CANTONMENT
LEAVENWORTH 1828



GEN. HENRY LEAVENWORTH
1783-1834

General Leavenworth was colonel of the Third U. S. infantry when he located and established Cantonment Leavenworth in 1827. The cantonment was renamed Fort Leavenworth in 1832.

A Report and Remarks on Cantonment Leavenworth

EDWARD R. DEZURKO

I. INTRODUCTION

THE OLDEST available War Department inspection report on Cantonment Leavenworth is dated March 31, 1829. One or more inspections had been made prior to this time by Col. George Croghan, inspector general, but a written summary of his observations is not available.

The report of 1829 is reproduced on the following pages without alteration, and I have selected more or less at random other remarks and letters. Colonel Croghan mentions the post at Cow Island, the first military station of some duration in what is now the state of Kansas. Cantonment Leavenworth was established in 1827 the year the first Fort Atkinson was abandoned,¹ and much of the equipment of the latter post was used at Cantonment Leavenworth. Fort Atkinson was established in 1819 as Camp Missouri.² Col. Henry Leavenworth had his headquarters there. He was lieutenant-colonel of the Sixth regiment.³ Fort Atkinson was ordered abandoned by G. O. 14, 1827, and Cantonment Leavenworth was established.⁴

The plan of Cantonment Leavenworth in 1828 which accompanies the inspection report was not originally a part of it. I have traced the plan from a drawing in the quartermaster file, war records division, National Archives. To my knowledge, it is the earliest plan of the post.

EDWARD R. DEZURKO, formerly of Kansas State College, Manhattan, is assistant professor of architecture at The Rice Institute, Houston, Tex. Mr. DeZurko was in Washington, D. C., engaged in naval ordnance laboratory work during part of the war, and spent many after-work hours searching through old War Department records gathering data of historical and architectural interest in connection with the early military posts in Kansas.

1. United States, Department of War, Adjutant General's Department, *Subject Index of the General Orders of the War Department, From January 1, 1809, to December 31, 1860* (Washington, 1886), p. 87. The site of Fort Atkinson was in present Nebraska near the Council bluffs on the Missouri river.—*House Documents*, 20 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 169), Doc. No. 2, p. 44; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), v. 2, p. 478; *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society* (Lincoln, 1892), v. 4, pp. 22, 23.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 23; J. Sterling Morton, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, Neb., 1906), v. 2, pp. 140, 141.

3. While yet a lieutenant-colonel, Colonel Leavenworth was transferred to the Sixth infantry regiment on October 1, 1821. He became commandant at Fort Atkinson and was in charge of the post until 1825. On December 16, 1825, Leavenworth was made colonel of the Third infantry.—*Ibid.*, p. 141; Heitman, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 92, 622.

4. Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1927* (Fort Leavenworth, 1926), pp. 15-21.

II. REPORT OF A TOUR OF INSPECTION DURING THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1829

CANTONMENT LEAVENWORTH 31ST MARCH 1829

Eight Companies 3rd Infantry, Bvt. Maj. Bliss, Comdg.

Company A, Capt. Dean, Lieut. Walker, Comdg.

Company B, Capt. Belknap

Company D, Capt. Bliss, Lieut. Hunt, Comdg.

Company E, Capt. Lewis, Lieut. Montgomery, Comdg.

Company F, Capt. Harrison, Lieut. Archer, Comdg.

Company H, Capt. Webb, Lieut. Wheeler, Comdg.

Company I, Capt. Clark, Lieut. Birdsall, Comdg.

Company K, Capt. Garland, Lieut. Cotton, Comdg.

POLICE

PREPARATION OF MESS—The requisite attention seems to be paid to this subject, and more than usual care has been taken to procure for the several companies mess furniture of the same pattern and of the neatest and most durable material.

ARM RACKS AND BUNKS—Bunks comfortable, and both they and the arm racks as conveniently arranged and as conformable to regulations as the shape and fashion of the quarters will allow.

APPEARANCE UNDER ARMS—The grenadiers B—Capt. Belknap, is particularly fine looking, being composed of men selected from the other companies of the Regiment. The Regiment throughout however has a fine appearance.

ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS—Arms new and good. Cartridge boxes generally unfit for service in the field, being much injured by the use of varnish.

CLOTHING—Not marked as required by regulation unless in very few instances. Note, if they be not marked why then may the officer not say I have no ink, and both I and my men are too poor to buy. I remarked upon this in a former report.

HOSPITAL—Every attention is paid by surgeon Gale that can possibly conduce to the comfort and speedy recovery of the sick. Of this all in hospital are so convinced, that there is quite a sensation created by a report that he is to be ordered to Jefferson Barracks. The building itself is a good one, but in the opinion of Doctor Gale, not well distributed, too much room being allowed for the halls of entrances as you will perceive by looking at the ground plat of it. Supply of medicines abundant with the exception of the article quinine which will be very soon exhausted. Cases in hospital chiefly convalescents of the intermittant fever—the almost exclusive disease.

SUTLER—Supply abundant—Prices fixed by the Council of Administration. In looking over the several accounts I find not a single charge against Company B for whiskey, a fact highly creditable both to Capt. Belknap and his men.

DISCIPLINE—To judge from appearances it must be pronounced correct, but to affirm positively on the subject would require more than the necessarily hurried observation of two or three days inspection. Maj. Bliss says that his discipline has been a little lax in consequence of the ill health of his garrison,

but of this I have nothing in proof but his own declaration, no facts in confirmation having passed under my eyes.

INSTRUCTION—I did intend a minute inquiry under this head at least insofar as the rifle and infantry drills are concerned, but a heavy rain to which I would not expose the many convalescents under arms on this occasion has prevented my doing so; enough however has been seen to make it evident that no ground has been lost since my last inspection in Sept. 1827. To retain what it had acquired under the discouraging circumstances of constant fatigue service and very general sickness is an evidence that Col. Leavenworth and his successor in command must have been throughout attentive to the instruction of the Regiment and that it be not more advanced it must be ascribed to the disadvantages with which they have to contend.

SERVICE—Correct as far as an opportunity for judging has been afforded.

ORDNANCE DEPT.—No inventory prepared. The stores on hand are a part of the same that were remarked upon in my report of Fort Atkinson in 1826. The residue of stores from that place have long since been forwarded to St. Louis.

Q. M. DEPT.—A proper inventory would exhibit a great variety of articles the most of them brought from Fort Atkinson on the abandonment of the post and these very generally damaged and unserviceable.

SUBSISTENCE DEPT.—The building a temporary one and ill suited to the preservation of the stores, it is besides, too small for a proper arrangement of them. 300 barrels have been condemned as sour by a proper board of survey and they will be shipped to St. Louis for sale by the earliest opportunity. The pork and beef are furnished and slaughtered at the post. The other parts of the ration are transported up the river under a contract.

REMARKS—The same mistake has been committed here that I have elsewhere more than once complained of—too much has been undertaken—everything is upon too vast a scale to warrant a belief in its completion agreeably to the original plan of the projector (at least within any reasonable time). A great deal has been done, much more in truth than could have been expected of a garrison so reduced by sickness; still the work is not half accomplished either as to labor or disbursements of money. A good hospital has been erected, and four houses originally intended to quarter one company each (though now occupied by officers) have been put up and very nearly completed, but there yet remains to be provided for: Officers quarters, store houses, guard house, magazine, etc., etc. Before this report is handed in I may obtain a plat of the ground to be occupied together with a plan and elevation of the several buildings already erected and to be erected which will be appended and perhaps with some additional remarks. I have been particular in my examination and inquiries in relation to the unhealthiness of this place, but I am as yet as much at a loss as ever as to the operating causes of its sickness. There is certainly nothing apparently in its location to render it unhealthy, on the contrary, the site might be considered an admirable one. It is upon a high rocky bluff rising rapidly from the very edge of the Missouri and furnishing springs of fine water perfectly accessible to the garrison whilst all along on the land side there lies at no great distance a dry and ridgy prairie. On the opposite bank of the river there is, it is true, a swamp or

rush bottom, of perhaps a mile in width, but it is so thickly wooded as to be impervious to the sun which might otherwise induce the escape of miasms, and to the S. E. distant three and a half miles lies Cow Island (Isle Vache) which, although low and subject to an overflow can originate nothing deleterious to health, for it is in itself healthy as has been clearly proven. The Rifle Regiment stationed upon it for 12 months in 1818-19 lost not a man by sickness during the time, although numbering 400 persons on an average. In further confirmation of my belief that no danger is to be apprehended from the vicinity of these low lands, I would offer the meteorological diary kept by the surgeon of the post, as it will be found by it that during the most unhealthy quarter of the last year the wind prevailed but for three days with any Easting (viz. two days at S. E. and one day at E.). On every other day of the quarter it swept across the prairie bringing with it as must be supposed a pure and healthful atmosphere. This place has certainly suffered much from sickness, but whether greatly more than ought to have been expected from the establishment of Northern Troops upon any of our western fresh water rivers admits of question. On comparing the hospital register of this post for 1828 (that for 1827 I have been unable to procure) with that of Fort Atkinson for 1826 (the year of its abandonment)⁵ I remark no material difference. The average number present at Fort Atkinson during the year stated ending 30th June was 418, and the grand total in hospital for that period 2419. At this post during the year ending 31st December 1828 the average number present being 230 the grand total in hospital for the period was 1565, that is to say Cantonment Leavenworth numbered on the hospital register more sickness for the year 1828 than Fort Atkinson during the healthy season of 1826 by one sixth only.

The two reports or registers I will compare with that of Jefferson Barracks for 1828 that it may be the more clearly seen how far Cantonment Leavenworth is deserving a character for exclusive unhealthiness. If after all Cantonment Leavenworth be abandoned in consequence of its reputed unhealthiness, what other point in this quarter can be taken up that exhibits more promising features? Retire from the river you may—what then? Health will not therefore be insured to your Northern troops, for we are told that the town of Liberty and its neighborhood suffered much from sickness during the last year even more than the garrison at this post.

It is said that during the occupancy of old Fort Osage (which continued for several years) it was never visited by any material sickness.⁶ This may be true, but there may be circumstances attending the fact as to the character of the troops taken as Northern or Southern men which it would be well to know before establishing the credit of the place. But grant it be healthy, it ought not to be reoccupied. Cantonment Leavenworth is full near enough to the settlements, and if it be abandoned as too sickly, let health be found somewhere further up—advance, do not retrograde an inch if you wish for the quiet of the frontier. A position taken up a dozen miles from a navigable river would serve as a check upon the Indians as well as though it were upon

5. This Fort Atkinson was abandoned in June, 1827.—“List of Military Forts, Arsenals, Camps, Barracks, &c.,” in Thomas H. S. Hamersly’s *Complete Army and Navy Register of the United States of America* . . . (New York, 1888), p. 123.

6. Fort Osage was on the Missouri river nineteen miles east of present-day Kansas City.—*Dictionary of American History*, v. IV (1940), p. 189.

the river itself; for it is not here as upon the upper Mississippi and its tributaries—there much use is made of the canoe, here one is never since the travelling is altogether by land.

G. Croghan

III. LATER REMARKS AND LETTERS OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL

The following was appended to the inspection report of Colonel Croghan dated December 9, 1833, on his inspection tour during the summer and fall of that year. It contains some general observations of the Indians in the region about the post:

FORT LEAVENWORTH: The occupancy of this point does not secure to us all the advantages that were derived from the establishment at Council Bluffs, nevertheless it forms an important link in the chain of posts (as may be seen on a reference to a map of the country) even without taking into consideration the circumstances of its location in the very neighborhood of several tribes of Indians. The Indians upon this S west frontier, of which this post may be said to form the extreme right, are not to be operated upon by those moral agencies which have been found to have effect over those of the N west and are only to be kept under control by the actual presence of a military force so constituted as to convince them of its ability to punish at all times and promptly, such as might dare to commit outrages, either upon our citizens or upon each other. It will prove no easy matter to hold in check the Indians lying between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers without the establishment of a post midway between the two, say on the Neosho river at or near the village of the Osage chief White Hair. The Pawnees are the deadly enemies of all the Indians along this line, and especially of the Osages with whom they are constantly at war, and in proportion as the Osages are pressed will they in turn trespass upon the whites, and in self-defence, for as they can neither protect their villages against attack nor hunt the buffalo without horses, they must seize upon the horses of the whites to supply the losses occasioned by the Pawnees. During the occupancy of Council Bluffs we had it in our power to prevent the incursions of the Pawnees, for some of their villages being at no great distance we had but to say to them, strike the Osages or any other Indians in the direction of our settlements, and we will strike you, and they were afraid, but they no longer fear. They believe that convinced of our weakness we have shrunk back from their imposing strength and they now act without regard of consequences from us and will continue to do so until the Regiment of Dragoons now being organized shall prove to them that we have still power to punish those who deserve it at our hands.

G. Croghan

Writing to the General in Chief of the Army at Washington, Colonel Croghan, in a letter dated Louisville, Ky., January 25, 1836, said:

. . . I have just heard and with regret, that Mr. Linn has introduced a resolution in the Senate to enquire into the expediency of making a road from Fort Des Moines to Fort Leavenworth, and thence to Forts Gibson and Towson. There is now too much travelling between the several posts for the

quiet of the Indians and good roads will only increase the evil by opening their whole territory to the ravenous appetites of lawless vagabonds and more greedy land speculators. Already does this description of persons begin to talk about the fine lands on the Ioway and Des Moines rivers and perhaps before two years are gone by they will be crying aloud for new territory on that side of the Mississippi. First will come a memorial to Congress from Missouri to extend her northern line until it shall strike the Missouri river; and then a new territory having been created, an urgent effort will be made to have the Indians sent to the south side of the Missouri. From the changes that I have witnessed since my first visits to that section of country, and from my perfect acquaintance with the character of those frontier men and of the immigrants who are daily adding to their number, I hazzard nothing in predicting that in a very few years we will positively need and perhaps may garrison all but the two posts of St. Peters and Council Bluffs upon that whole frontier.

The following letter prefaced the inspection report of August 26, 1836:

To Maj. Gen. Macomb
General In Chief
Washington City
Sir:

This report which I now have the honor to present for your perusal would have been forwarded ere this and have proved more worthy of your acceptance but for the top of my trunk which was stolen from on board the steam boat Columbian on the passage from St. Louis and with it my notes which I had prepared with much care. Trusting then to my memory alone, I may have omitted many subjects that I had intended to discuss, but I am nevertheless certain that there are no material mistakes in what is now stated.

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
G. Croghan
Inspector General

The following remarks were appended to the inspection report of August 26, 1836:

REMARKS—There is about as much propriety in calling this Post Fort Leavenworth as there would be in calling an armed schooner a line of battle-ships, for it is not only not a fort but it is even devoid of the regularity of a common barrack—of defences it has none. Col. Kearney having very wisely recommended the erection of block houses, has under the authority of Brig. Gen. Atkinson, contracted for the building of two, or rather, for the entire completion of one and the necessary timbers for the other to be put up by his own men—both of them will be finished it is believed, by December.

It seems that the Quartermaster of the post has been instructed from Washington to contract for the building of an hospital agreeably to a plan furnished by the Medical Dept. Why such instructions have been given I am at a loss to conjecture; they surely must have been presumed upon a mis-

conception of the character of the building now used as an hospital, and also of the reputation of the post for unhealthfulness. Should it be the intention of the government to keep up this post for any length of time, I would recommend that it have at all seasons some companies of infantry in garrison. This I deem important if not indispensable, as without such provision, this post and neighborhood would be left without a guard whenever the Dragoons should be called away upon any occasion of emergency, or upon their customary summer campaign. Too much reliance ought not to be reposed upon the good faith and friendship of the tribes of Indians in this vicinity. We can not expect to keep a force sufficient to resist them effectually should they rise en masse, but we might at all events by some show of preparation and watchfulness prevent partial outbreaks. If my suggestion be approved and adopted, additional quarters for both officers and men should be erected, the several store houses should be enlarged, the magazine which is damp ought to be properly fixed, good stables built within the square flanked by the block houses, and the house occupied by the Commanding Officer be converted into a hospital; the present hospital although good, being badly located for defence in the event of an attack.

G. Croghan

Inspector Gen.

The following remarks were appended to the inspection report of August 16, 1842:

REMARKS—I wish that Capt. Lamotte's company of infantry could be ordered from here to Jefferson Barracks or elsewhere and this post be left exclusively to the Dragoons. The two arms can not serve together in garrison without great dissatisfaction on the part of the infantry be the course of the commanding officer as it may, unless the force of infantry be many times greater than that of the Dragoons, say 10 to 1, when all details might properly be made from the Infantry without any reference to the Dragoons. I speak but of what I have witnessed both here and at Fort Atkinson,⁷ and submit to your better judgement the determining of the question or causes of dissatisfaction and frequent desertions.

I am told that upon the urgent representations of the Indian Agent a garrison of one company is to be established at Council Bluffs. If such be the case I can only say that the agent is not fit for his place, at all events knows nothing of Indian character. Neither the late agent Hamilton nor his predecessor Dougherty would have dreamed of such a thing. I was opposed to the abandonment of Council Bluffs and would now urge its reoccupancy, but with something beyond a mere bodyguard for an Indian agent.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Your Obedient Servant

G. Croghan

Inspector General

7. Another outpost bearing the name Atkinson. This Fort Atkinson, located on Turkey river near the mouth of Spring creek in northeast Iowa, was established May 31, 1840. It was abandoned in 1849.—Hamersly, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

William E. Borah's Years in Kansas in the 1880's

WALDO W. BRADEN

THREE states have a claim on William E. Borah, the famous Idaho statesman; for he spent his boyhood in Wayne county, Illinois; he received his law education in Kansas; and he built his legal career in Idaho. He was born in 1865, completed country school and one year at Southern Illinois Academy at Enfield before he moved to Kansas. Partly because of a disagreement concerning his future, he was not permitted to return a second year to the Enfield academy. In spite of his father's disapproval, young Borah insisted that he wanted to pursue a legal career. He had nurtured this aspiration from the time he had heard his father discuss cases with the village lawyers. Eagerly he had watched the local court in session.¹ He had seized every opportunity to get public speaking experience. But lack of financial assistance threatened his ambition. His future brightened in the early 1880's when his sister, the wife of A. M. Lasley, a practicing attorney, invited him to make his home with them at Lyons. Although his legal education was not assured, at least here was a way to work toward his objective.

The little frontier town of Lyons offered many advantages. In 1883 a newly organized library society after several entertainments raised funds and accumulated, by gift and purchase, a small circulating library which included books on scientific subjects, religion, biography and poetry; collections of essays, fiction, and subscriptions to at least three magazines: *Century*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Graphic*.² One can imagine that the book-hungry, aspiring young lawyer soon found his way to the little library. The management of the local opera house brought many entertainments to Lyons, which must have appealed to a young man who had earlier considered joining a traveling Shakespearean troupe.³ Borah affiliated with the "Young People's Band" of the Presbyterian church. On three different occasions he gave speeches on the programs of this group. When the band gave a public entertainment to raise funds,

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1. Beverly Smith, "The Lone Rider From Idaho," *The American Magazine*, Springfield, Ohio, v. 113, March, 1932, p. 40; Claudius O. Johnson, *Borah of Idaho* (Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1936), pp. 1-22.

2. *The Lyons Republican*, December 13, 1883, p. 5.

3. *Ibid.*, February 28, p. 5, March 20, p. 5, August 28, 1884, p. 5, June 4, 1885, p. 5.

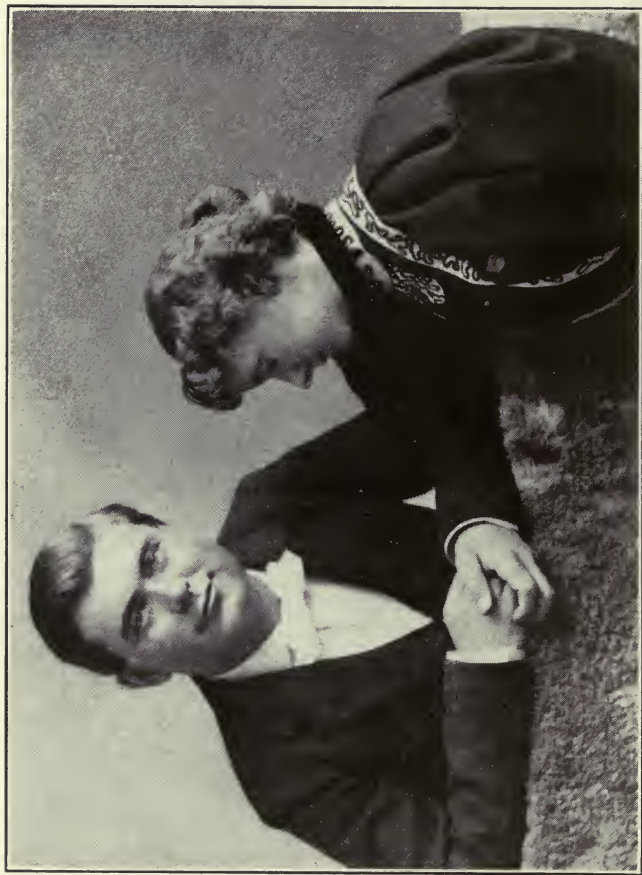


WILLIAM E. BORAH

1865-1940

and Nephew, FRANK LASLEY

Borah, who later served with distinction as a United States senator from Idaho, made his home with the A. M. Lasleys while in Lyons in the 1880's. Mrs. Lasley was Borah's sister. Frank Lasley was later a Chicago attorney and was killed in a car wreck several years ago. This photograph was made in Lyons in 1885 and bore the stamp, "Shaufelt & Norrick, West Side Square, Lyons." It and the picture appearing on the following page were lent for copying by another sister of Borah, Mrs. Mattie B. Rinard, of Fairfield, Ill.



MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM E. BORAH
Shortly after their marriage in 1895. Mrs. Borah was the former Mamie Mc-
Connell, of Boise, Idaho.

"W. E. Borah" gave the "opening address."⁴ On the other two occasions, probably monthly meetings, the programs included "oration—W. E. Borah."⁵

During his first few months in Kansas he attended the Lyons public school where he enrolled in Latin, constitution (government), and grammar.⁶ The school records of Lyons were long ago destroyed and the local paper gives little concerning the school activities. However, the aspiring young lawyer probably participated in the literary exercises on Friday afternoons.

The following fall he decided to teach a country school. In preparation he attended the Rice County Normal Institute held in Lyons for a few days during the summer of 1884. The main stress of the meetings was placed on teaching methods.⁷ During the session the Rice County Teachers' Association presented a public program for the institute which included an "oration" by William Borah.⁸ In order to get his teaching certificate he took examinations in some, if not all, of the following: Bookkeeping, constitution, physiology, history, geography, grammar, natural philosophy, orthography, and arithmetic.⁹ During the four-month term, 1884-1885, he taught the Wabash, one-room country school, earning thirty-five dollars a month or a total of one hundred forty dollars.¹⁰ Little is known about the activities of Wabash school or of the teacher during that year; no school notes appear in the Lyons paper. However, years later Borah confessed that he was "so engrossed in reading history and law" that he might not have given as much time to his teaching as he should have. Much to his dissatisfaction he did attend "protracted meetings" at the nearby Prosper church.¹¹ Twice during the term he appeared on the monthly programs of the Rice County Teachers' Association, delivering each time what was advertised as an "oration."¹² This year of teaching was undoubtedly important in his development for it gave him additional leisure time to pursue his reading of law and history, and further opportunities to practice public speaking. One

4. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1884, p. 5.

5. *Ibid.*, April 2, p. 5, September 3, 1885, p. 5.

6. University of Kansas, "Register," 1885, p. 216.

7. Lyons *Republican*, July 17, p. 5, July 24, 1884, p. 5, "Normal Notes."

8. The program included the following: Music, prayer, reading minutes, music, oration, recitation, essay, German solo, discussion, music, essay, recitation, and miscellaneous business. —*Ibid.*, July 17, 1884, p. 5.

9. The questions for the above subjects are given in *ibid.*, August 7, 1884, p. 1.

10. Annual report of District No. 22 for the year ending July 31, 1885. Filed by E. L. Phoebe, clerk of District 22, August 25, 1885. This record is deposited in the office of the county superintendent, Rice county, Lyons.

11. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

12. Lyons *Republican*, October 9, 1884, p. 5, January 8, 1885, p. 4.

can imagine that the pupils of Wabash school served many times as would-be audiences for premature orations. Since the community life probably centered around the little school, the teacher had to use his initiative and to assume the responsibilities of leadership.

The following year Borah enrolled in the University of Kansas at Lawrence. The university offered him many advantages which he had not had in the small rural towns of Fairfield and Enfield, Ill., or Lyons. The school, with its faculty of 24, had five departments: Science, literature and arts; law; elementary instruction; music; and pharmacy. The physical plant consisted of three buildings. The enrollment was 419, 143 of whom were enrolled as "sub-Freshmen," similar to Borah. One of the most attractive features to Borah was the university library, which contained 7,100 volumes "besides a large number of unbound pamphlets."¹³ Here Borah spent much of his time¹⁴ and according to his own testimony he was "more of a reader than a student, sacrificing his class work for general reading. . . ."¹⁵

When he entered the university in 1885 he enrolled as a sub-Freshman because he had not completed his secondary education. He must have written and passed a "creditable examination (at least 70 per cent.)" in arithmetic, algebra, history of United States, descriptive and physical geography, English grammar and composition, and constitution of the United States.¹⁶ During that year, according to the records in the office of the registrar, he enrolled in English, natural philosophy, Cicero, and Vergil [not completed].¹⁷ For some unknown reason Borah terminated his first year on completion of the first half of the spring semester.¹⁸

Returning to Lawrence the following fall he enrolled as a freshman in the Latin Scientific course. However, he did not follow the prescribed course for freshmen who intended to complete a bache-

13. *Twentieth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Kansas* . . . 1885-6 (Topeka, Kansas Publishing House, 1886), pp. 6, 7, 9, 26, 30, 81-83, 86.

14. Interview of Olin Templin, fraternity brother and classmate of Borah, published in the *Lyons Daily News*, January 20, 1940, p. 2.

15. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

16. The catalogue explains: "A course of sub-Freshman studies is therefore presented for the accommodation of those who cannot find at home the full preparation necessary to fit them for admission to the collegiate classes. This course is arranged in such manner as to omit, so far as possible, those studies which may generally be found in the better Grammar and High Schools of the State, while classes are retained in the University for beginners in Latin, Greek, German, and French. Classes will also be continued in Natural Philosophy, Drawing, English Composition, Algebra, and Geometry. Candidates for admission to the sub-Freshman class will receive credit, either upon examination or by certificate, for so much of this work as they shall have completed in other schools."—*Twentieth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Kansas* . . . 1885-6, p. 63.

17. University of Kansas, "Register," p. 216.

18. *The Weekly University Courier*, Lawrence, April 9, 1886, p. 1.

lor's degree,¹⁹ but he chose those subjects in which he was most interested. He enrolled in English, history, elocution, history of English language (sophomore course), and American literature (junior course). In all of his courses, in spite of his confession concerning his outside reading, he received grades of "I," the highest possible grades.²⁰

A review of the subjects which Borah studied reveals his interest in composition, literature, and history. An essay on Cicero, "The Roman Mugwump," which appears under the initials of "W. E. B." in one of the school publications,²¹ may have been written by Borah. The essay or eulogy praising the oratory and statecraft of the Great Roman, shows thoughtful study and careful composition. If this piece is by Borah, it demonstrates that he was developing a style superior to that of many of his fellow students.

Borah may have received some classroom instruction in public speaking which probably commenced during his sub-Freshman year. The catalogue states:

Theoretical and practical Elocution is in charge of an instructor, who gives his time largely to that work. The Junior and Senior preparatory classes [sub-Freshmen] receive instruction in Reading and in the Elements of Elocution. More advanced elocutionary work is given to the Freshman and Sophomore classes.²²

The freshmen were required at least twice a year to give declamations "in the Hall." These affairs, according to the complaints of the school papers, were not always well attended by students or faculty.²³ Nevertheless, for the interested student they provided opportunities to speak and to observe. At best this instruction was meager, for the instructor had too many duties.²⁴

The catalogue of 1887 indicates this deficiency in its description of the course: "Required of all students. 2d term. Once a fortnight, in the afternoon."²⁵ The principal student-speaking activities were carried on as extracurricular affairs through the two

19. *Twenty-First Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Kansas* . . . 1886-7 (Topeka, Kansas Publishing House, 1887), pp. 15, 47.

20. University of Kansas, "Register," p. 216.

21. *The University Review*, Lawrence, v. 8 (January, 1887), pp. 105-107. The previous year Borah had taken a course in Cicero; and the magazine in which the essay appears frequently published student compositions.

22. *Nineteenth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Kansas* . . . 1884-5, p. 62.

23. *The Weekly University Courier*, October 9, 1885, p. 2; *The University Review*, v. 7 (November, 1885), p. 76.

24. The student paper comments: "Prof. Brownell is worked right to death, and yet they are not satisfied to let him teach elocution alone! He must also assist in the English department."—*The Weekly University Courier*, September 11, 1885, p. 2.

25. *Twenty-First Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Kansas* . . . 1886-7, p. 64.

literary societies: the Oread and the Orophilian. On Friday afternoons each met to hear programs consisting of music, declamations, essays, orations, and debates.²⁶ They sometimes held joint meetings.²⁷ Two or three times a year they engaged in inter-society contests which consisted on some occasions of only one activity, on others of many events.²⁸ The principal event of the year included competition for orators, essayists, declaimers, and debaters.²⁹ Upon entering the university Borah affiliated with the Orophilian society. Soon on one of the weekly programs he gave an "oration." A month later he participated in a debate.³⁰ The school paper makes only these two references to Borah's participation; undoubtedly he engaged in other activities of the society. The essay mentioned earlier may have been first presented on one of these programs. Furthermore, listening to these programs and assisting in the selection of the Orophilian representatives for the inter-society events probably sharpened the future Idaho senator's critical appreciation of good speaking and of good literary style.

The extracurricular activity of the university which attracted the greatest attention and which aroused the most enthusiasm on the campus was the annual oratorical contest. Although Borah did not participate, nor to the writer's knowledge did he write an oration for one of these affairs, certainly he must have caught the local enthusiasm. He probably heard at least the local contests and observed what was considered superior and poor speaking, comparing his judgment as to the winners with the decisions of the judges. Perhaps as a result of these experiences he may have been inspired to evaluate his own speaking more critically and to perfect his own technique.

Although he was not the typical "Joe College" of his day, he did find time for some activities besides his reading. While he was at the university he pledged Beta Theta Pi.³¹ However, William Allen White, one of his classmates, points out that Borah did not let the social life interfere with his studies.³² The school paper, on the other hand, does record the following: "W. E. Borah has at

26. *The University Review*, v. 7 (September, 1885), p. 24; *The Weekly University Courier*, October 16, 1885, p. 1.

27. On one of these occasions they debated the proposition: "Resolved, That as Wealth Increases, the Morals of the People are Diminished."—*Ibid.*, November 6, 1885, p. 3.

28. *Ibid.*, December 4, p. 2, December 18, 1885, p. 1, and January 21, 1887, p. 2. *The University Review*, v. 7 (October, 1885), p. 47.

29. *The Weekly University Courier*, January 22, p. 2, February 5, 1886, p. 1.

30. *Ibid.*, October 16, p. 1, November 13, 1885, p. 1.

31. *The University Review*, v. 7 (December, 1885), p. 102.

32. Quoted in Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

last succumbed to the inevitable. A pair of bright eyes was the cause."³³ This "pair of bright eyes" must not have had any lasting effect on the future orator, for it is not mentioned again.

Threatened with tuberculosis³⁴ Borah failed to complete his freshman year, leaving in March, 1887.³⁵ With three years of secondary education and less than one year of college the future senator concluded his formal education. What he acquired afterwards was solely on his own initiative.

Young Borah was still determined to study law. During his year of teaching, according to his own confession, he neglected his work to read law and history. Much of his vacations was probably spent in the Lasley office. Following his sub-freshman year the school paper reports, "W. E. Borah is in his brother[-in-law]'s office at Lyons, Kansas."³⁶ After he left school in 1887 he resumed his study of law, making a special study of evidence.³⁷ He soon gained a sufficient background to meet the easy Kansas requirements and on September 16, 1887, he was admitted to the Kansas bar "as a full fledged lawyer to practice in the District courts of the state."³⁸ Shortly thereafter, in the local paper, appeared the professional notice of Lasley and Borah, "Attorneys-at-Law."³⁹

Many colonial lawyers had far more legal training than Borah. Thanks to the lax requirements of frontier Kansas, he gained the right to practice, a privilege which signified neither a profound knowledge of the law nor an adequate understanding of court procedure. Much of his legal education was to be procured in the future in the hard school of experience.

The local pranksters had great fun in teasing the newest member of the Rice county bar. On one occasion they placed the following "local" in the Lyons paper:

WANTED—A young man out of employment, desires a rich widow, with weak lungs and a bad cough, to take him to raise, object, not matrimony, but grub. Apply at office of Lasley and Borah, to W. E. Borah.⁴⁰

33. *The Weekly University Courier*, December 4, 1885, p. 1.

34. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

35. *The Weekly University Courier*, March 11, 1887, p. 1.

36. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1886, p. 1.

37. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

38. *The Lyons Daily Republican*, September 22, 1887, p. 8. In passing the bar he had to meet the following requirements: "Any person [being a] citizen of the United States, who has read law for two years, the last of which must be in the office of a regularly practicing attorney, who shall certify that the said applicant is a person of good moral character, and well qualified to practice law, who is actually an inhabitant of this state, and who satisfies any district court of this state that he possesses the requisite learning, and that he is of good moral character, may, by such court, be permitted to practice in all district and inferior courts of this state, upon taking the oath . . . prescribed."—C. F. W. Dassler, *Compiled Laws of Kansas, 1885* (Topeka, Geo. W. Crane & Co., 1885), p. 112.

39. *Lyons Republican*, September 29, 1887, p. 1.

40. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1888, p. 5.

During these months the young lawyer did not waste his time; he continued to read law, history, government, and literature, including some works in Latin. At least on one occasion and probably on others, he composed an oration for which he had no audience.⁴¹ During these early years he procured the appointment of city attorney, a position in which he served from April 18⁴² until May 28, 1888,⁴³ and from April 15, 1889, until September 15, 1890.⁴⁴ The Lyons editor, Clark Conkling, was one of the first to comment on his promise as a lawyer. In a brief item concerning one of Borah's first cases, he said, "W. E. Borah, one of the youngest attorneys at the Rice county bar, made a strong, logical, speech before the jury Saturday in the case of the State vs. Weston. His speech gave great promise of a brilliant future."⁴⁵

As city attorney the young lawyer advised the councilmen on legal matters, checked previous actions of the councils in the minutes, drafted ordinances, filed suits for and answered those against the town and on one occasion made a trip to Colorado on city business. These early years, under the tutorship of his brother-in-law, gave Borah the experience and the confidence which enabled him to continue on his own in Idaho.

Because of the dearth of information, the influence of A. M. Lasley on the future senator is difficult to determine. Lasley, one of the leading attorneys of Lyons, was a prominent Republican. His political activities seem to indicate that he was considered a good speaker.⁴⁶ H. G. Doddridge, who started practicing in Lyons about the same time his friend Borah did, recalls that Mr. Lasley was a great conversationalist who loved to argue constitutional questions. Judge Doddridge recalls that Lasley in 1892 became a strong supporter of the Populist party.⁴⁷ Although he makes no mention of it, Borah probably carried on many discussions with his brother-in-law on constitutional and political questions.

In 1890 William E. Borah decided to relocate in the Far West. In the several years that he spent in Kansas, he had completed the formal part of his law education. An attempt to untangle completely the sources of his opinions and attitudes would be difficult,

41. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22.

42. City of Lyons, "Minutes of the Council," 1888, pp. 34-36.

43. Lyons *Republican*, May 31, 1888, p. 5.

44. City of Lyons, "Minutes of the Council," 1889, pp. 136, 185, 240; Lyons *Republican*, April 18, 1889, p. 4, October 9, 1890, p. 5.

45. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1888, p. 5.

46. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1884, p. 4, July 9, 1885, p. 5, April 12, p. 1, April 26, 1888, p. 8.

47. Interview of H. G. Doddridge, Lyons, August 13, 1941.

but certainly it is evident that these early years were important in the development of the Idaho senator, who later won for himself the reputation of being one of the most successful debaters and orators of the senate. Certainly these years of reading law, literature, history and government did play a significant part in shaping his political philosophy, which later he defended so vigorously.

Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864

PART THREE, 1858

[PALMYRA, K. T., January, 1858.]

BRO. HAVEN ⁷⁵:—Have you ever known the soul-agony of bereavement, that for a time has crushed out the consciousness of every surrounding object, save one dark chasm, into which you gaze, and gaze, as days and nights go unheeded by? If your own heart has never been wrung with anguish—if the agonizing thought, that caution, or foresight might have warded off a blow that has fallen on more than one heart, and made a home desolate, then, sir, you cannot understand the feelings we would fain express, as with eyes suffused with tears, we attempt to tell some circumstances connected with the last days of our little Edith, [copy torn: one line is missing] two years and a half ago.

There may be some reader of the Herald who knows what we mean, when we say that many times we have formed the resolution to write for the "children's department," an obituary of our precious child; but our pen has until now refused to perform its office. We have for many years endeavored to write words of comfort for other aching hearts, but could never feel, "Thy will be done," in our own great sorrow, until within a few months.

Edith Urania Lovejoy was born at Landaff, N. H., May 8th, 1849, and was borne in the arms of an agonizing father from a baggage wagon, into a cabin by the wayside, as we journeyed from Kansas City, Mo., to Manhattan, K. T., and in a few hours of unconsciousness to her, her spirit went to God, May 4, 1855, and we laid the precious casket in which it was once enshrined, away in a cold damp grave, in a lone spot, which is now "Lawrence Cemetery," and a "field of graves," and in a few hours from the time we saw the cold clods heaped upon our darling, we were obliged by the force of circumstances, to tear ourselves from the grave of our loved one, and continue our journey of nearly 90 miles, scattering our tears along the road, as we turned our eyes across the prairies that stretched away toward her grave.

The suffering of the pioneers who first landed on the soil of Kansas can never be told. We will relate a little of our history in this matter, and we doubt not, if others would speak out, their tale of sorrow would bring tears from eyes "unused to weep."

⁷⁵. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

We landed in Kansas City, Mo., March 18, 1855, and Mr. Lovejoy and our only son left immediately for the Territory with a company (of New Englanders chiefly,) in pursuit of a spot to locate a town. They journeyed 140 miles, and pitched their tent at the junction of the Big Blue and Kansas Rivers, and laid out the town now called Manhattan. Our two daughters, with myself, remained at K. at the "American Hotel," to board until sent for, after a cabin had been built. During our stay of some six weeks, hundreds were almost constantly thronging the house, bringing various diseases with them, and seldom a boat load without more or less sick, until the very air in the different rooms seemed impregnated with disease and death. Within a few feet of our own room, lay at one time four men, sick with lung fever. A little farther on, in the passage that led to our room, within a short time lay two dead bodies. In another room lay our beloved Bro. D., formerly of the New England Conference, sick with fever for weeks; and many from different boarding places found a grave in Kansas City. We left the hotel, and went to a private house to board, when our elder daughter was seized with pneumonia, which had been very fatal in the community, and our younger became very ill, whilst we too were violently seized, and we feared the whole "trio" would die, and not a human face we had ever seen before to express any human sympathy. At this crisis it was announced that a boat was to sail up the Kaw River, to Fort Riley, and pass the place where the company with which Mr. L. was connected were located. I immediately engaged a passage for us, for it was evident [that] to stay where we were was death; and my eldest daughter was borne from a bed sick with fever, and the other [came] down with measles on board the boat, which [copy torn] down river about four miles, and grounded, [copy torn] stuck fast for months. The passengers left the boat, some bound in one direction and some in another. One family were to pass the "Big Blue," where Mr. Lovejoy was, and by them I sent an express to him, apprising him of our danger, and I knew the hour he received the message he would start to find us; but where we could find an asylum till he should arrive, as we must leave the boat, was more than we could tell, as the community where our craft was aground were half-breed Indians and French Catholics of the baser sort; and if Pandemonium can produce a viler race than occupies that region—but I forbear. Heaven alone knoweth the full climax of woe that burst upon my spirit, when I paced to and fro the deck of that ill-fated steamer, praying every breath,

whilst the boat was grating harshly, now across one bar, and then another and I felt that when she struck, the fate of some of us was sealed; for in those filthy hovels, if even there we could find a shelter, it might prove death, in our condition.

In this dilemma, a man in the garb of a gentleman came on board, and informed us that his cabin, occupied by his family, was near the spot where the boat had stopped, and as they had started on a journey to St. Louis, and he wished to stop at Kansas City during their absence, if I would take my children there from the boat, and take care of them on the premises, I would be welcome to stop until the boat started again, or Mr. Lovejoy arrived.

In company with a fellow passenger, I accompanied him to his cabin, and, on opening the door, a horrid stench met my olfactory nerves, producing a nauseating effect, such as I seldom have felt. "How can I live here? Ah me! how little have I known of real suffering until lately!" And then the appeal to Heaven, "Why am I brought into such straits?"

There was no alternative; the passengers must leave the boat, and we must trust to God for protection. I noticed the heavy, strong door, and massive lock, and thought we could watch day and night, until help came from some quarter. There was one room only, and that unfinished, but I discovered a ponderous box, filled with "unmentionables." And Mrs. H. B. Stowe, with her rare descriptive powers, could not, in our opinion, do justice to this only receptacle of wardrobe, linen, &c., that we could discover, belonging to this fashionable woman of society, who was on a pleasure-seeking tour, leaving her home more disgustingly filthy than swine ought to occupy. Amongst the articles in said box, on examination, we discovered a dead animal of the feline species, partly consumed by decay, that produced the sickening effluvia arising from it.

We went to work with a will, and prepared a place for J[uliette]. and E. to sleep, cleaned up the cabin, cooked something to keep us from starving, fed the chickens, and attended to "chores" according to his directions, locked up the door, and threw ourselves on our knees by the bed-side of our sick ones, with about the same feelings we should have had, had the house been surrounded by bandits. We knew God would not forsake us, and felt that a guard of angels were around us. I threw my weary limbs beside my children, not to sleep, though nature was well nigh exhausted.

At a late hour, I heard a confusion of voices around the cabin, and finally they approached the door, and tried to gain admittance.

I threw myself and children on the promises of God—arose, and deliberately dressed myself and children, supposing they might be robbers, in pursuit of money, as the family were absent, and the cabin far from any habitation, in a lonely wood. I took little E., and told her not to be afraid, God would take care of us, unlocked the door, bade Juliett follow close, and as fast as my limbs would carry me through the thickets of brushwood, made my way in the darkness to the boat.

The next day he came and informed us “that he had concluded it might be some expense to admit us to his cabin”—after we had cleaned up his premises, and set things a little to rights—“and we must find a shelter elsewhere.” The passengers had all left, and only one lady was now on board; and what to do we knew not, as all were perfect strangers.

An old Catholic lady, seventy years of age, came on board, it being the Sabbath, to see the boat, as she had never seen a steam-boat; and she informed us that, if we could walk two miles to her cabin, we could stay there till E. recovered from the measles, as but few would permit that disease to come into their families. We started, with aching hearts, to follow the decrepit old lady, with a cotton handkerchief tied over her head in lieu of a bonnet, and O, what a “horror of darkness” fell on my spirit, as I followed this aged dame to her cabin. The darkness of the tomb cast its shadow across my pathway. I knew not how to unravel the mystery that surrounded me—something awful was before me—I felt, I knew not what—nor was the spell broken until my poor lacerated heart saw the object of its love, with the little hands folded in death. On reaching the little cabin, built of rough “shakes,” we found the old lady procured her living principally by charity, and we found we could not remain there. At any rate, she wanted to do us good, and if I ever go into that region, and find the old lady living, her desire to be kind shall be amply remunerated. From thence, we agreed with a half-breed Indian woman, to stop in her log cabin till the measles had disappeared, little thinking what an awful week was before me, with a drunken Indian woman for a hostess, carrying scars upon her person, received in drunken fights. Sicker and sicker grew my child, whilst day and night I watched over her, amid scenes I dare not write, until the measles disappeared, and her lungs and brain seemed to be affected.

I said to her one day, “Edith, you are very sick, and may die, and I want you should pray to God all the time.”

Said she, "Ma, if I die I shall go to heaven, and I want to be buried where Pa and Ma live."

Ah! she was a model child, in obedience, love of her books, gentleness of disposition, and, we doubt not, regenerated at a very early age. She was always a praying child, and very early taught by the Spirit.

We must hasten. We learned Bro. Dennison's family were about starting for the Big Blue, though his children had the measles, and we hired a team to take us along in his company till we should meet Mr. Lovejoy, or as far as Lawrence. Our teamster proved to be a drunken rowdy, who stole our provisions from our carriage, and the four days we were on the road to Lawrence, when we ought to have been but two, had the terms of the agreement been carried out, we never saw Bro. Dennison, or any other one we ever knew, on the road. And O, the anguish that drank up our spirits, as we carried our dying child in our arms by day, in a ponderous vehicle, until nature gave way, and at night laid her on the filthy floor of an Indian wigwam, and sat on the floor by her side, weeping and praying the live-long night; while she begged piteously to be laid on a bed, as "her head ached worse on the floor;" but her mother had no bed for her dying child. Ah! those four days—the sorrows of forty years we had passed through, were as nothing, till then.

The fourth day, we reached what is now Lawrence, (then a few cabins,) about an hour after Mr. Lovejoy arrived, he having started on foot, as soon as he received the message, and weeping and praying, he had traveled on foot about ninety miles in three days, with nothing to eat but [copy torn] biscuit, made (by the men) of flour and water and slippery elm bark to chew.

Our precious child opened her eyes and looked me full in the face, said, "Mother, you are good," and the last word was spoken [copy torn: three lines jumbled] and when, a few months after, the Lord placed in our care another child to train for the skies, then only did we seem to awake from the reverie, and feel that we had something still to live for.

We have tried to cling to Jesus during two years and nine months that we have been in Kansas. Though we have passed through what we never dreamed of in New England, God blessed us wonderfully last fall, and we never felt more like counting all things but dross, that we may win Christ.

God is pouring out his spirit on Mr. Lovejoy's mission, and we think as many as fifty have joined the society. It does our souls

good to see God converting sinners here. We never expect to feel at home in Kansas, though, if we can enjoy health when warm weather returns, we may live and die here. Such another field to do good in, we do not think can be found; therefore we are glad we can labor for God and freedom here, where sin abounds. "Let me do and suffer all the will of God," is my prayer. Kansas must be redeemed and saved, and we want a hand in helping on the good work.

The political heavens are gathering blackness, and we know not how soon a storm of wrath will burst upon our heads. What does Mr. Buchanan mean? Is there no redress for this insulted people? No hope from Congress? Ah, sir, the Eternal will ere long smite our enemies with the rod of his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure; and they shall know against whom they have been madly contending. Will our dear brethren still pray for us?

Yours, for truth and justice,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

[PALMYRA, K. T., March 16, 1858.]

MR. EDITOR⁷⁶:—If you will allow me a space in the *Herald* to answer some less than a "thousand and one" questions about Kansas, you will remove a burden from my shoulders that I have been bearing for weeks past; and instead of diminishing it by sending off letters in "parcels," they come thicker and faster, until a "heap" is now piled up on my writing-desk, clamoring for an immediate answer. It has been a serious tax on our time to answer half the letters that have been pouring in upon us, and but few seem to think that the missionary's salary in Kansas is very small, and forget to enclose even a postage stamp when they write on their own business. Now this is a trifling expense, singly and alone, but the amount when added up is of some importance.

Is it not strange that intelligent New Englanders, who have such facilities for knowing about "Kansas matters," should in almost every instance ask the same questions, again and again, that we have answered repeatedly through the press, both secular and religious? Now, once for all, we would say, that Palmyra is ten miles south of Lawrence, and forty or forty-five from Kansas City. Within a circle of fifty or sixty miles from this place there are plenty of claims yet untaken; there is a sufficiency of timber for all practicable purposes in every part of the Territory, as far as we can learn, and generally springs, of as clear, good-tasting water as

76. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

in New England, by digging for wells, sometimes from twenty to forty feet on the open prairie! We have ever found water soft enough for washing in every locality we have yet visited. A man can buy "shares" or single lots, in every town in the Territory, if he is so disposed, but cannot legally hold more than one claim of one hundred and sixty acres. Many have endeavored to evade the law, and have done so by hiring others to hold claims for them. "Jumping claims," has caused some cold-blooded murders in different parts of the Territory. Many have taken claims, and left the Territory in haste, to escape the bullet of the border ruffian, and returning, find another in possession of their "claims;" then comes the "tug of war." The region around Palmyra was first taken by pro-slavery men; the most rabid fire-eaters of this party fled to Missouri, with their families, in "war times," and others coming in jumped their claims, in their absence. One of our nearest neighbors did so, and has held the claim unmolested for more than a year; but he had occasion recently to go to Kansas City for provisions, and the former owner of the claim lived in Westport, through which he was obliged to pass, and report has come back, that he was found lying in his wagon, shot dead. This pro-slavery man boasted when he lived here, of the many he had murdered. We have no doubt but for years to come, though there may be no general outbreak, pro-slavery men who have a pique against prominent Free State individuals will pick them off, if they can without detection, when they fall in their way.

One correspondent inquires about the streams of water in the Territory. The Kansas and Big Blue Rivers, with creeks in deep ravines usually that intersect the country in every direction, are all the streams we have seen, though in the southern part there are streams like our brooks and small rivers in New England, we are told; and in the Northwest, Republican and Smoky Hill Forks. These creeks are so small in the summer that they are usually forded; sometimes the banks are so *full* that in attempting to cross, teams have been drowned. Steam mills, if not built near a river, are supplied from wells, dug for that purpose. Timber for building, such as black walnut, cottonwood, &c., is plenty, though high-priced, \$30 per thousand, and some have bought pine at \$60 per thousand, at Kansas City, brought from the North on steamboats, in preference to the timber of the Territory. Many build of stone, or concrete houses, for from \$800 to \$1000 or \$2000, just as they can afford. House rent is from \$12 to \$50 per month. In most of

the towns a lot will be donated provided a man erects a dwelling thereon. A man can build himself a comfortable residence, by doing the work himself, for \$150 or \$200, without plastering. We are now occupying one, and have been for about a year, built of logs, with the interstices daubed with, (we guess) clay and lime, or some substance akin to it. We have lived for months with neither floor nor window, where poisonous serpents would trespass within our precincts, and we assure our lady friends we thought it quite an addition to our comfort to have rough boards laid down, as an apology for a floor.

Good mechanics of every kind are wanted here, though money now is hard to be got. It will cost a man about \$40 or \$50 to come from Boston to Lawrence, K. T., by railroad to St. Louis, and steamboat from thence to Kansas City, Wyandot, Quindaro, or Leavenworth—it is immaterial at which place he stops, if he wishes to reach Lawrence. It is about forty or fifty-five miles to Lawrence from either place; by stage, \$4 or \$5 fare. Flour in Lawrence is \$3.50 per hundred; pork 17 cents per pound; lard, 16 3-4 cents; sugar, 7 lbs. for a dollar. We should advise all who come this spring in pursuit of claims to go some two hundred miles in a southwesterly direction from Lawrence; or if they start from Kansas City (which we should do) go in a westerly direction, and strike for a place called "Walnut Creek," or "Eldorado,"⁷⁷ where a town has recently been laid out, in a fine farming country, with plenty of wood. Emigrants can purchase oxen at Kansas City, for about \$100 per yoke; wagons for about \$75; cows, we think, for \$20 or \$25, for they are \$30 here, and first rate at that. Potatoes here are \$1, and \$1.25 per bushel. If we were now coming into the Territory with our present knowledge of things, we should buy a team and provisions, provided our family were along with us, bake our cakes, or "bread," and fry our ham or bacon in what the Westerners call a "skillet,"—we Yankees, call the same important utensil "spider, or frying-pan,"—make our coffee, &c., by kindling a fire by the wayside, and then by procuring a matrass they can lodge very comfortably in their covered wagon, and save large "bills for lodging." Many a lady delicately reared has found sacks of meal or flour, with bedding thrown over them, answer finely to rest their wearied limbs upon.

77. El Dorado as a community dates from June 15, 1857, when a company organized at Lawrence arrived, pitched their tents in a circle and raised the United States flag in the center. In July of that year the colony received an addition of fifteen families. El Dorado, however, was not laid out as a town until 1868.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 1431, 1432.

O could we have known three years ago about pioneer life as we have since learned, we are not sure but we should have flinched, and our hearts quailed within us for a season; but we should have come to Kansas, notwithstanding—we can bear the thought of everything we have passed through, but the agonizing reflection that our own loved child so early died a martyr to intense suffering, caused by having no quiet resting place; no place for her aching limbs but a rough baggage-wagon, and no cordials to restore her sinking, feeble body. . . .

Kansas is saved at last; and let one universal anthem of Hallelujah to God, go up from every New England heart that throbs for human freedom. . . .

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

PALMYRA, K. T., May 27, 1858.

BRO. HAVEN ⁷⁸:—Having just returned from a tour of a hundred miles in the Territory, as far northwest as the mouth of the Big Blue River, I thought it might be of some interest to our dear New England friends to learn of the rapid progression of this interesting part of the Territory. Lawrence has been so often described that we will tarry this lovely morning to make but a few calls, without alighting from our carriage, though we discover some new tenements almost every time we visit the place, and some streets so changed that we hardly recognize them. Now, dear reader, just keep pace with us, if you please, and we will point out as well as we can the different localities through which we pass; and if you are an admirer of the beautiful, whether in nature or art, you will not have gone ten miles before you reach the superlative in old Murray's comparisons, and almost feel oppressed with the beauty of the panoramic view that stretches out as far as vision can reach. Such farms as can be seen nowhere but in the great West; the "live-fence," so uniform, enclosing 160 or 80 acres; elegant mansions, built of stone, concrete, and black walnut, or tastefully built cottages, peering out among green foliage.

Six miles above Lawrence, the road turns to the right hand that leads to the world-renowned city of Lecompton, hidden from view, save the stone church built by the M. E. Church, South, that stands on an elevation, and a few other buildings. On we jog, and fifteen miles from Lawrence we reach the town of Big Springs, so called from several large springs, from which beautifully clear water in

⁷⁸. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

abundance gushes forth. The place was too destitute of trees and shrubbery to suit our taste; some good dwelling-houses, and a church, once nearly completed, of concrete, owned by the United Brethren; but we were sorry to see one side of the roof lying on the ground, carried some distance by the force of the wind. This branch of Christ's church are very numerous in Kansas, and as far as we have learned are devotedly pious, and doing great good.

A few miles farther brought us to Tecumseh, which is a town of rare beauty. "Indeed," Mr. L. and myself exclaimed, "the prettiest place in Kansas." The houses are not huddled together, like many other places, but spread over a broad area, interspersed with groves, which gives quite a rural appearance to the whole. There are, we should judge, 150 or 200 houses, perhaps more, as some were half hidden by trees, and a number of edifices that equal in beauty anything we ever saw. These were built of beautiful stone, in a circular form, two stories high, with eight sides, and large windows constructed like folding doors. Perhaps this may meet the eye of some architect, who can give a better description of these new-fashioned, but we think model houses. Southern aristocrats have much wealth invested in this town, and many of the inhabitants are pro-slavery.

A few miles farther and we come to Topeka; this, too, is a beautiful town, the site surpassing Lawrence, though not so large. We thought there were two hundred houses, many of them of brick and stone, and some very large, imposing structures, for various purposes. The Methodists and Congregationalists have each a stone church going up, that will be ornaments to the place. Here we spent two nights with a dear family that was one of our "stopping-places" on our "first circuit," Fryeburg, Me., twenty-four years ago, with David Copeland, of blessed memory, for a colleague. The hospitable board of A. Whiting, Esq., has been spread for the weary itinerant in Fryeburg, and Saco, Me., and Lawrence, Mass.; and wherever he spreads his tent, even on the plains of Kansas, he says to the herald of the cross, "come, and be welcome." Heaven reward the dear family, and bring them all to heaven at last!

At Topeka we crossed the Kaw River on a bridge! The go-aheadative spirit of the Yankees has spanned the Kansas River with the first bridge ever built across it, at a cost of about \$10,000, I think, we were informed. A part of this is a drawbridge, to permit steamboats to pass.⁷⁹ Three miles from this bridge we reach the town of

79. The bridge was opened for travel on May 1, 1858, and in the following July it was swept away by a flood.—George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2, p. 369.

Indianola.⁸⁰ This land belonged to the Delaware "trust lands," and was sold last year for about two dollars per acre; now fifty dollars could not buy an acre near this town. And, Mr. Editor, were it not that you might catch the "speculating spirit of the times," which is very infectious hereabouts, I would like to have you leave your sanctum long enough to spend a few weeks in gazing at nature along the Kaw valley, just as she was fashioned by the Hand Divine.

A few miles farther on, and we strike into the Pottawattomie lands, where for thirty or forty miles the monotony of the scene is scarcely changed. Vast bottom-lands, six or eight miles in extent, and as level as the floor of a house, waving with tall grass, and here and there, herds of swine, fat cattle and horses, that roam at large, owned by the Indians; now a log house, neatly white-washed, a corn patch of a few acres fenced in, meets your view, while hundreds, yes thousands of acres of heavy timber stretch all along, we think unbroken, through the Kansas valley. Thousands of acres of as rich land and choice timber as the sun ever shone upon, unoccupied, owned by these lazy Indians. O how many, many times we wished that poor working men in the East, who need farms, or poor Methodist preachers, who have always sung so truly,

"No foot of land do I possess,"

could have the doors thrown open to them here in this paradise, and find a home for their dependant families in their old age.

Occasionally we crossed a "toll bridge," (across some deep chasm or creek) kept by an Indian, for you are aware this is the Government road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley. Thirty miles this side of Manhattan you come to the Pottawattomie, a Catholic mission⁸¹; here are perhaps 250 or 300 houses, that stretch along the road at intervals for miles, including those that cluster near the church. This is a large white building, with a cupola, or spire, surmounted by a "cross." We noticed, too, in the graveyard near by a large wooden cross, and thought how little they understood the true signification of the cross! There are a number of two story white, or cream colored homes, near the church; these, we think, are for school purposes, or residences of those who have charge of the school; the remainder are built of logs, very good-looking. The head of this mission for twenty years, I think, has been Father

80. Indianola was situated at the crossing of Soldier creek about a mile and a half from Papan's ferry, and on the road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley. The town was laid out in 1854. At one time it attained quite a degree of prosperity, but it was soon overshadowed by Topeka. It is now extinct.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

81. St. Mary's Catholic Mission.

Durand,⁸² a Catholic priest, formerly from Canada. He was drowned this spring, with three others, in attempting to descend the Missouri River to St. Louis in a skiff—one was a Mr. Limurst, of Maine, returning after his family. Poor man! I saw his claim, joining Manhattan, his cabin built for the reception of his family, and had an interview with his lonely son, who remained in his cabin. So it is in this tearful vale! The beautiful farms around the mission gave evidence that the leader and guide was not there. The Indian will not work usually unless forced to it. Shall I here give some of the classical names of these Indian nabobs—"Sambo," "Johnnycake," "Blue-Jacket," "Greyeyes," &c. Every one can select 200 acres of land where he pleases in the tract appropriated to his tribe, and many of them own more cattle and horses than any New England farmer can boast of. We reached Manhattan about sundown, which is 60 or 70 miles from Topeka, from whence we started in the morning.

This was our first home in Kansas; but O how changed! Our little log cabin, the first cabin built in Manhattan, has been removed to the banks of the Blue, and sacrilegiously converted into a stable, and near its former site is the tastefully built residence of Hon. Mr. [E. M.] Thurston, of Maine, one of the original proprietors of the town. I did not learn the number of houses in town, but noticed some beautiful private residences, large hotels, a number of costly stone buildings, for various purposes, and a large two-story stone building, for school purposes. The Methodists have a stone church they hope soon to have completed, and the Episcopalians and Congregationalists intend to build immediately, we were told. But we must not linger in the city, nor stop to point out the many spots where we used to weep, and weep for the "loved and the lost." We must put the lash gently to our faithful beast, jaded though he be, for one mile hence in the Great Bend of the Blue we have a treasure that we long once more to press to a mother's faithful heart that pillowed it in infancy. We drive up to the door, the watchdog barks furiously; but we rush past him, and a moment more and our only daughter is in our arms.

Praise to the living God, he hath answered prayer, and after a long separation we live to meet again. "But, mother, see what the Lord hath given me!" And, sure enough, a little grandson [Arthur]

82. The Reverend Father John B. Duerinck became superior of St. Mary's Pottawatomie mission on November 3, 1849. On December 8 or 9, 1857, Father Duerinck and five others started in a flatboat from Wyandotte to Liberty, Mo., where they hoped to get a steamer. Above Independence Landing the boat struck a snag, upset and four of the occupants including Father Duerinck were drowned.—Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), v. 2, pp. 625, 675, 676.

was laid in our arms;—may its parents have grace to train it for the skies. We walked up to the mirror, and could not discover that the unexpected title, “grandparent,” had added any more gray hairs to our head during the few weeks we had borne the strangely-sounding name.

Our Conference was held at Topeka the 16th of April, and Mr. L. was stationed at Sumner,⁸³ sixty miles from Palmyra, on the Missouri River, twenty miles above Leavenworth. It was named for Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts; and though only about one year old, it has about two hundred houses, a number of imposing brick blocks, a printing press, from which the “Sumner Gazette” is weekly issued by Cone & Brothers, formerly from Northern New Hampshire. The inhabitants are generally from the Eastern States. Mr. L. was on the ground immediately after Conference, and designs to move his family thither as soon as a tenement can be raised for their reception; for you may not expect to find parsonages yet in Kansas; and what Methodist preacher here can pay from \$200 to \$500 per annum for house-rent?

But hark! a summons at the door—exciting news! a special messenger has been dispatched from Moneka,⁸⁴ sixty miles from this place, to Lawrence, for help! Six Free State men, unarmed, dragged from their home without the least provocation, drove into a ravine, and shot in cold blood⁸⁵—one a minister of the gospel, named Reed,⁸⁶ just come in from Wisconsin. Capt. Walker stopped at our son’s last night on his way to arrest the murderers, and Gov. Denver and the military are hastening to the scene likewise. I have just learned that our neighbors at Prairie City, three miles from here, are preparing to go to their aid. What next will come! We supposed the horrors of war were over here. I, and my little boy of two summers, live quite alone night and day here in the woods, half a mile from any human habitation, and are quite happy in this excitement.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

PALMYRA, K. T., May 29, 1850 [1858].

DEAR DEMOCRAT⁸⁷: Lol these many weeks, have ye, (faithful Chronicler of events) been talking to me as of yore, bringing me good news, and bad news, from “the loved ones at home.” Thus I

83. Sumner was named for George Sumner, one of the original stockholders, and not for his brother, Charles Sumner, United States senator from Massachusetts.—Sheffield Ingalls, *History of Atchison County* (Lawrence, 1916), pp. 85, 92.

84. Moneka, a town in Linn county, now extinct.

85. This was the Marais des Cygnes massacre which occurred May 19, 1858.

86. The Rev. Charles Reed was among the wounded.—D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 235.

87. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

have weekly listened to *all* thou hast had to tell me, not excepting the parenthesis, including the purely benevolent act of "the man whose sands of life had almost run out." It may prove a great misfortune that those wicked wags have thought it necessary to replenish his waning glass, with a barrel of fresh sand, forwarded at his expense by them. But contrary to my usual habit I have listened in respectful silence; not but what I have had enough to tell thee of weekly, but other cases have called for attention. It is painful that the first time I break this long silence, I should have to tell thee of the most horrid tragedy, all things considered, that has yet been enacted in the "Kansas drama." Twelve men without any provocation, dragged from their homes at noonday, driven into a ravine and shot—ten men killed and wounded—five men instantly killed! one a Baptist Missionary only just arrived in the Territory from Wisconsin.—These men perfectly unsuspecting of any danger—entirely unarmed! I stated in the notice to Zion's Herald, just forwarded to Boston, (I think) but six were at first taken, but one account received here was six, another twelve; and I prefer, when giving facts for the public, it should fall short, rather than exceed in these exciting times. We did hope that the "horrors of war" were past in Kansas, but time can only determine who will be the *next* victim. Only a few weeks since, a gang in the same region rode along the road, calling whom they pleased out of their houses, as they rode along, and shooting at them. One man was killed, leaning over the bed of his sick wife administering medicine to her—he fell across the bed with the exclamation, "O God! I am shot," and instantly expired! What a scene for that poor survivor.

There is great excitement here—rumor has just reached us that hundreds are collecting at Westport to destroy Ossawatimie again, but I entirely discredit it. A couple of gentlemen called here yesterday from Kansas City—I have no doubt pro-slavery—but were loud in their denunciations of these murderers, and I think the good sense of the better part of the community, along the border in Missouri, will prompt the people to assist in arresting the murderers. There are hundreds after them.

Our friends can imagine, but not describe the feelings of a mother's heart, when I tell them that Charles was in Kansas City after a load of provisions, when the sad intelligence reached this place, and one of the murdered men was seized on the road, on the same errand as himself. I and my little boy, of two summers, were entirely alone in our cabin, half of a mile from any human habitation. It was a sleepless night, though I believe people here generally think it safe

to travel where they list. Such shocking murders committed when we thought "peace declared;" by the wholesale, too, make me sigh for the quiet of my own native hills, (i. e. after Mr. L. votes; of course we would have no man debarred from that last privilege of showing their detestation for the measures forged to enslave us, after contesting every inch of ground with the enemy for more than a "three year's siege."

I want to stay in Kansas just as long as we can accomplish an iota of good for the cause of Freedom, though the hot weather of every summer I have spent here, greatly debilitates the system, and renders me almost an invalid, for weeks and months. Already, this spring, I feel my strength diminishing, and long once more to inhale the breeze that comes direct from Mt. Washington—sacredly believing, (tho' the tho't may be considered by the reader tinctured with puerility) that there are no streams quite so pure, no air quite so bracing, no people quite so dear to the writer, as those who live among rocks, and toil hard on sterile soil, for the bread of honesty.

Nothing can exceed Kansas in beauty, fertility, &c., but if it be the will of heaven, and if the precious dust I *still* love, that lies entombed in Kansas, can be removed to New England, I find still a choice lingering around the heart, to have my grave made at last among my "kindred dear," though I have oft so feelingly sung

"No matter *where* we fall, if only at our post."

I don't wonder now that the Ancient covenant ones carried Joseph's bones along with them, though *once* it *seemed* so strange—neither do I that the poor Indian tears himself so reluctantly from the "graves of his fathers."

Kansas summers are far better adapted to the "lean and lank," like some famous editor I wot of, than those unfortunately inclined to corpulency. We *may* live and die here—the will of God be done.

The people *en masse* reject with *scorn* the proffered bribe! Does Congress think we are all fools or cowards here, and not *one* wise head that can delve through the meshes, and *read* what is beneath, or that we would barter Freedom for gold? No doubt there are Benedict Arnolds among us, but *none*, of the *true metal*, will heed the bait one moment.⁸⁸

Respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

88. Free-Staters opposed the so-called English bill. It provided "for a resubmission of the [Lecompton] constitution to the voters of Kansas, on the condition that if they rejected it, the state would lose a part of the public land to which it was entitled, and also that it could not be admitted as a state until the population equaled the ratio required for a representative in Congress. This scheme to bribe the Kansans to accept the Lecompton document, and to punish

PALMYRA, K. T., June 1, 1858.

BRO. HAVEN ⁸⁹:—I should not have troubled your readers with another communication from my pen so soon, to the exclusion of more important matter from the Herald, were it not for the painful feelings I experienced recently when reading a letter from Bro. I. Pipher, of Manhattan, Kansas, in the Western Christian Advocate, and since that, copied by Rev. A. Stevens, D. D., apparently with much zest and pleasure, into the Christian Advocate and Journal of April 15. Dr. Stevens heads the article thus: "Kansas Preachers." In speaking of the preachers in Kansas, of which he says they have quite a number, Mr. Pipher adds: "but we need *efficient men*, deeply imbued with the spirit of their mission; men who feel it their chief duty to preach the gospel of Christ, to hunt up the lost sheep and stray lambs, and gather them into the fold, and build up the church of God, rather than to become political leaders, attending political meetings and making political speeches, which is unfortunately too frequently the case here." Now, sir, the above I consider a gross wholesale libel on the "preachers in Kansas," and not a neighborhood slander, but sent broadcast wherever the Christian Advocate and Journal has a circulation, both throughout the United States and the British isles! Ought this slang to pass unnoticed, unrebuked, and the impression remain on the readers of these papers, as though there were no efficient ministers, faithful pastors, but the "Kansas preachers" are all a set of political demagogues? After all the privations these pioneer preachers have experienced for more than three years, must they now be held up to the world as "political leaders" and "political speechifiers?"

Now for the facts in the case: I happen to know well the spirit of this same Bro. Pipher toward New England Methodism, (especially if tinctured with what he contemptuously calls "abolitionism") having lived the next door neighbor to him for a year; and, by the way, the term "abolitionist," in the minds of such men is associated with Garrisonianism and Abby Kellyism. No distinction is made, and it is never noticed that we entirely disclaim any connection with such radicalism. The preachers who have been stationed at Manhattan for three years, and to whom he refers undoubtedly, are Rev. J. Dennison, and Rev. N. Trafton, both New England men, and efficient in every sense of the word—deeply pious; and though it is

them if they rejected, passed Congress, in spite of the vigorous opposition of [Sen. Stephen A.] Douglas."—Ralph Volney Harlow, *The Growth of the United States* (New York, 1925), p. 457. On August 2 Kansas voters decided the question. The official count was declared to be 1,788 for the proposition, and 11,300 against.—Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

89. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

now their chief, would make it their only business to preach the gospel and "hunt up the lost sheep," were it not that the exceeding smallness of their salary compels them to labor some with their hands, to obtain bread for their families. By the way, I would be glad the world to know as extensively as the slander has been circulated, how much this same Bro. Pipher, who is doing a good business in the mercantile line in M., has paid for the support of those under whose ministry he has sat for three years, to aid them in their glorious work of "hunting up the stray lambs!" We knew well where the "shoe pinched" when we first read Bro. P.'s letter in the *Western Christian Advocate*, but we'll leave that matter for those preachers to explain hereafter to whom he refers, when they learn what has been sent forth to the world. I am very well acquainted with the labors of one of the "Kansas preachers" for three years past—I speak not of the "efficiency" with regard to talent, but I do speak of "abundant labors" in looking up the "sheep and lambs," and "gathering them into the fold." I can speak of *one* who has been a stranger to his own fireside two-thirds of the time he has been in Kansas, and who for the year just passed has had no home the most of the time only as he went from one cabin to another; and when he did visit his family, it was impossible for him to do so only as he crossed a vast prairie twenty miles in extent, and not one human habitation the entire distance, in all kinds of weather—sometimes riding the whole route in the rain, drenched to the skin—sometimes nature would well nigh faint under a broiling sun; and then the piercing wintry wind must be faced, until many times he has feared he might perish on the prairie, and his family know nothing of it for a long time; and the present year this same uninhabited region must be passed if he turns his face homewards.

When I read the *Christian Advocate and Journal* of late, a paper I formerly so much loved, I am forced to exclaim, "How are the mighty fallen!" Who can read the speech of the venerable Rev. H. Bangs, at the last session of the N. Y. East Conference, and others, on the slavery question, and not utter the same exclamation? Slavery is murdering by the wholesale of late in Kansas, men who have had no more to do with the "Kansas agitation" than has Dr. Stevens himself. What punishment would he think due to a wretched Sepoy who should raise his murderous hand to slay our good Bro. Butler, whom the whole church loves to designate as "*our* missionary?" Slavery has raised its blood-stained hand against the missionary of the cross in Kansas, from another branch of the church



AN 1858 ADVERTISING LITHOGRAPH OF SUMNER, ATCHISON COUNTY

This was the lithograph that brought John J. Ingalls to Kansas. He later referred to it as "that chromatic triumph of lithographic mendacity." (See *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IX, pp. 98, 99.)



HOME OF GEN. JAMES H. LANE

This house stood at the northwest corner of the intersection of Eighth and Mississippi streets, Lawrence. The two photographs here shown were made by Alexander Gardner, of Washington, D. C., in 1867.



"HOUSE AND WELL WHERE JIM LANE SHOT CAPT. JENKINS"

That was the caption Gardner placed on this photograph. The place was near the Lane residence and its location in 1858 was reported as "adjoining the town." Neither house is standing today.

—the deadly aim has been taken, and the man of God only saved himself from the rage of his blood-thirsty enemies, while five of his brave companions fell dead by dragging his wounded body into the woods. Perhaps the Doctor thinks he had no right to be found in Kansas as a missionary. The Baptist Church in Wisconsin had as good a right to send Rev. Charles Reed⁹⁰ to Kansas as a missionary as the M. E. Church in the United States had to send Rev. W. Butler to India in a like capacity. Let Dr. Stevens and other apologists for the institution take a tour of a few months in Kansas, and they will be completely cured of their prejudices, I think.

Respectfully,

J. LOUISA LOVEJOY.

SUMNER, K. T., June 19, 1858.

[Copy torn]—So here we are in our new field [copy torn] and are highly pleased, both with [copy torn] people, and if you can have patience [to follow?] the "thought-tracks" we are now almost vainly attempting to make in the dark on paper, we will tell you something about the matter.⁹¹ As a kind of preface to the whole, we would describe to your readers our present position. Daylight is just beginning to dawn on this beautiful earth, and here we are with our traveling bag for a seat, our portfolio in our lap for a writing-desk, and in the unfinished chamber where we are, are thirteen specimens of humanity, and not an article of furniture in the room save bedding; and if we should move two steps from the side of our mattress spread on the floor, we might land on the dining-table, dishes and all, in the room below, for the floor is only partly laid; and we will put to with a will and write whilst this family of boarders are still in the arms of Morpheus, lest when the eyelids ope by balmy sleep refreshed, the quiet that now reigns through this large boarding-house, should be changed to a Babel. May our kind Christian host and hostess, who have suffered in their property from "border ruffianism," rest in a better world when the sorrows of life are over.

You will be glad with us when we tell you with tears of joy, that after being exiled for more than three years, we are now *at home* for the first time (in feeling we mean) since we have been in Kansas. Almost every family in the place is from dear New England, and quite a number of Methodists from good old Vermont, have just arrived. O how fast we live these days in enjoyment, none can tell but those who have passed through what we have!

90. See Footnote 86.

91. Letter to *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

Sumner City is situated in the "Great bend" of the Missouri river, 20 miles above Leavenworth, and about 40 from Kansas City. There was but one cabin one year ago, and now there are about 200 good houses, hotels, stores, mills, &c., and it bids fair to outstrip Lawrence at no distant day. It is built on a succession of bluffs that stretch back from the river that gives the place a peculiarly unique appearance. Between every two bluffs living springs gush out, and form rivulets of clear, sparkling water, some of them as cold as ice water, and affording an abundance for cooking purposes for the inhabitants, of which there are now about 800, and they are still coming. Many of the houses are perched on dizzy heights, on the verge of almost perpendicular precipices above the water. Mr. Lovejoy is building a residence in one of the most romantic spots you ever saw; and, sir, if you could steal away from your quiet sanctum and take a trip to our Eden, you shall have the privilege of occupying a room perched on a bluff, covered with beautiful trees and shrubbery, planted by the Almighty's hand, and look right down in the murky waters of the mad Missouri, that will roll 150 feet below you; and from this elevated spot that is to be our future home we can almost or quite toss a ball with such precision that a passenger on board the numerous craft that ply this mighty river, might receive it, and by giving it sufficient momentum, return it to its original starting point, as the boat went whizzing by.

Our quarterly meeting is to be holden to-day and to-morrow in this place, and we are expecting the "great Head of the church" to be in our midst in power. Bro. Shaw, an old presiding elder, formerly of the Michigan Conference, is presiding elder on this (Leavenworth) district. I have forgotten to tell you that this city is named in honor of Senator Sumner,⁹² of Massachusetts, and is literally a "city in the woods," and buildings of two, three and four stories high, peering above the trees.

The settlers in Linn County are still having war, and we learned yesterday that they had just had a "pitched battle;" did not learn which party was triumphant. You have doubtless learned ere this, of the shocking affair at Lawrence, that has spread dismay through the Free State ranks. Col. James Lane shot Col. Gaius Jenkins dead, instantly, one week ago last Thursday!⁹³ They had a long while disputed a "claim" that each wanted to get possession of, that lay west of Lawrence, adjoining the town, and on the morning the fatal deed was committed, Col. Jenkins had been heating his brain at the

92. See Footnote 83.

93. James H. Lane shot and killed Gaius Jenkins June 3, 1858.—Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

whiskey shop, and with an oath on his lips, fell dead in presence of his wife, who was gazing from a window; and when he fell, rushed frantically to the spot, and clasped him in her arms as the blood spouted from his mouth on her clothes. Col. Lane was shot at seven times by Jenkins' friends, one ball lodged in his leg, where it will probably remain till he goes to the grave; another whizzed through his hair, cutting away a portion thereof, &c.; but a strange "charm" seems thrown around his person; we are sure it cannot be of a Divine character, for he is a very wicked man, though he has done much for Kansas. The weather was very warm, but the remains of Col. J. were packed in ice and preserved until Sabbath. We were present at the funeral, and never saw such a concourse of people together in Kansas on any occasion, save the army from Missouri, at the September invasion. There lay the murdered victim in a metallic coffin in front of the altar, looking like one asleep (as the shot took effect in the stomach and abdomen.) Forty-six years he had lived, and died as the fool dieth at last. There was his heart-broken wife, borne between sympathizing friends through the aisle, and there three weeping children, and an infant at home. Near the church in which the services were held lay the wounded Col. Lane, and his mental anguish it was thought might terminate his existence, though he is now in a fair way to recover. He is to be tried for murder, but will probably be acquitted on the ground of "acting in self-defense." O, sin, what hast thou done! The above, we consider the worst murder that has occurred in this land of "strife and blood," owing to the high position of both parties in the Free State cause. "Ah! (said Col. Lane to Mr. Lovejoy) I consider this the greatest misfortune of my life—I did not intend to kill Jenkins, only to wound him;" but all was the sudden ebullition of anger.

Respectfully,

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

SUMNER, K. T., July 30, 1858.

BRO. HAVEN ⁹⁴:—This city is all astir to-day, for the people are gathering in from "far and near" to attend a grand barbecue and political festival, for which extensive preparations have been made.⁹⁵ Among the speakers, is Hon. M. J. Parrot[t], fresh from Congress. "A free dinner for all" is served up in the grove by the citizens, and present appearances indicate that in one respect at least, the blessed

94. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

95. The *Sumner Gazette* of July 31, 1858, reported that by actual count 2,000 people partook of the barbecue. Large crowds came from Leavenworth, Atchison and Doniphan. In the evening there was a supper and ball at the Sumner House.

Saviour's command will be heeded: "the poor, maimed, halt," &c., will be faithfully represented. Whilst I write, soul-stirring music floats away to my dwelling; I see the "stars and stripes" waving in the distance, but cannot mingle with the joyous groups this festive day, for necessity alone compels me to remain at home; and you know, Mr. Editor, it is [un]truthfully said "that a *secret* is a burthen to our slandered sex;" so I'll out with the reason at once, and let your fifty thousand readers know the important fact that our dwelling which we have occupied for a number of weeks, has neither doors nor windows yet, and we have already suffered repeated annoyances from petty thefts here, so that a "watcher" must constantly stay "by the stuff;" and then, perchance, if his back is turned for a moment, some necessary article will come up missing. We never could realize the vexatious nature of "wholesale thieving" in New England; one must emigrate to California or Kansas, to understand that matter fully. Here, nothing of value is safe for a moment, if exposed.

Before Mr. L. left home this morning he brought me a letter, written to us by a local preacher and his estimable lady, from Western Vermont, full of words of encouragement, and tears of gratitude and joy coursed down our cheeks as we read on, and learned that we were remembered and prayed for by our dear brethren and sisters in New England. And then that sweet Missionary Hymn, so beautifully set to music by Bro. Pettingill himself; tune, "Kansas." And how it will cheer our spirits as we travel over these vast prairies, or take our "cold lunch," by some little rivulet, as we often do, to sing these expressive lines:

"Hail to the land of our toils and our sorrows,
Land of our rest!—when a few more to-morrows
Pass o'er our heads, we will seek our cold pillow,
And rest in our graves, 'neath the shade of the willow."

Did our brethren and sisters understand how much good a few words of encouragement, even from a stranger's hand, does us, in these "ends of the earth," I am sure the little "missives" would be sailing up the Missouri river.

Would our lady friends in New England like a tame description of the groups that are passing by whilst I write? There goes a noble animal, with the whole trio perched upon his back, two astride and the *other* a lady, and I am not sure but the *foremost* has a babe in his arms, for I can plainly see that the next in line of march has three more, and scarcely *one* passing but a babe seems a necessary

appendage to complete the picture. How gracefully that lady rides on her little pony, carrying her infant; and if two or three more in primitive style of her little dependencies are on the same pony, what matters it? There comes a company of young men and young women, lads and lasses; we think by their uncultivated appearance, they have come over from Missouri, for their stopping by the house, and staring through the big window-frames at us, as we sit quietly at the table writing, and their course, senseless laugh, indicate that they were not bred in Yankeedom. The peculiar fashion of the costume of some of these belles would greatly puzzle the creative genius that presides in some of the millinery establishments in the "City of Notions!"

If some idea of our mode of moving from Palmyra to Sumner will make one of the dear sisters whose husbands are members of Eastern Conferences, and who sometimes complain of the hardship of moving in the East, less disposed to find fault, a *faint* idea may be gained by the following account, but the like I hope never again to experience in Kansas. All things being duly arranged we set off, after long-continued rains, but indulging the hope that notwithstanding the badness of the roads, we should have ample time to complete our journey of sixty miles, between Monday and Saturday. Mr. Lovejoy drove the ox-team attached to the wagon, in which were the "household goods," whilst I followed passively, driving the horse in the buggy, at the same time holding an umbrella, our little boy, &c. We had gone but four miles, when crash went the wheel in the buggy and there was no alternative, but I must walk until we found some one in possession of tools, suitable to cobble up with; and on we went, with the wheel in the carriage, and a long rail from the fence to rest the body of the carriage upon as it dragged its weary length through the mud. At last we found a man who could assist in mending, and we went in and stopped for the night. His wife left the Territory two years ago, in the first war, and had never dared to venture back, and his cabin showed unmistakable evidence of its great need! Too tired to sit up, and yet I must cook my own supper for my family; and he was very kind in giving us a shelter. He was not a believer in Divine Providence, yet he said he believed "there was a Providence in the breaking of the wheel, for by that means he had bread enough baked up for him to last him for some-time to come!" The heat was so great we could only reach Lawrence the second night; and here commenced a series of troubles as we crossed the Kaw and struck on to the Indian land. We took an

early start, hoping to get across the dreaded reserve ere night overtook us. In this we were disappointed; the oxen came very near melting as we hurried along, panting constantly. At noon we ate our lunch in a little cluster of trees by a creek, turned the oxen loose in tall waving grass; but they were too tired to eat, and we hitched on hastily, for now and then a dark cloud rolled along, and we feared what might overtake us on these shelterless prairies. The heat increased to that of a burning oven—the noble animals with their tongues out at full length the whole afternoon, seemed almost to realize by instinct that we were endeavoring to avert something ahead. The sun was fast sinking; we dared go no farther, lest they would fall *dead* in the road; black clouds were rolling along the western sky, heavy thunder soon saluted our ears, and we almost held our breath! There we were, miles from human habitation, shelterless, bedless, supperless. I laid my little boy at full length on the carriage seat, whilst I sat down on the carriage-bottom, my back against the fender-board. Mr. L. laid down on the ground under the carriage, which I feared to do on account of the serpents, as the lady we left in our cabin had just been bitten, and it was thought for some time she must die. O how my aching limbs craved just one board on the floor of the dear paternal mansion; that would have been sufficient. Heavier and heavier were the peals of thunder, and about midnight, in the darkness, we hitched on again, lost our whereabouts, and finally left our goods standing in the road, and the oxen to their fate, and Mr. L. sprang on with me in the buggy to try and find a shelter before the storm struck. After a while we came in sight of a fence; we could just discern it in the dark, as Mr. L. was footing it on ahead to try and find where we were, and he said afterward he heard me cry out, "Thank the Lord for that." I thought it betokened a habitation near, but found afterward it was where the cattle belonging to Uncle Sam, for the Western expeditions, were herded. Again we entirely lost our way, unhitched the horse, turned him loose, and fatigue had so overcome my fear of serpents I was glad to lie down on the grass, and soon we heard a cock crow not far off! Mr. L. sprang into the carriage as soon as he ascertained where we were, and pulled for our lives to the nearest habitation, whose door we reached just as the day was dawning. The shower struck as we drove up to the gate, before we alighted from our carriage, and *such* a shower! It literally came down in buckets full. We crept into a bed that a good Doctor and his kind lady had vacated to learn who were the forlorn beings who

sought their hospitality at that unreasonable hour! At a late hour in the forenoon we were awakened by a kindly voice, who told us a breakfast was in waiting for us, of which we thankfully partook.

Mr. L. went in search of his team, which he found safe, but his goods were soaked through; but we could not unpack, and the beds, bedding, linen and clothing remained steaming and mildewing two days more till we reached Mt. Pleasant, the extreme verge of our circuit, Saturday, where our things had *another* soaking all night in the rain, and after it was passed we opened them to dry, and what a sight! My bonnet, one sent by the kind ladies in Manchester, N. H., two years ago, that had never been injured but a little, was entirely spoiled, so that even the materials were useless, and so with the other things. Mr. L.'s hat, my best clothing, and finally a looker on said there were \$50 worth ruined, and almost every article, more or less mildewed. I bore *all* with good courage till I came to the beautiful large family Bible, sent me all the way from New Hampshire, by my dear aged father, as his last gift to his daughter, and when I saw *that* soaked through, and coming out of the binding, I wept! How could I refrain from tears?

We were now within six miles of Sumner, and the roads were almost impassible by the rains, and we would go a short distance and get (as the Westerners term it,) "stalled;" and then Mr. L. must post off after a team to haul him out of the mud. He got stuck so often that I passed him, and finally, as he could not find a team in one place, I concluded I would go on and find some one to assist him. I drove along, lost my way, and endeavoring to extricate myself from my trouble, broke the shaft of the carriage in the woods, and there I was alone, with my little boy. I accordingly unhitched from the carriage, fastened the horse by the wayside, and went in pursuit of help. I halloed enough to waken startling echoes from the grove around me, and found a cabin, but the inmates were all gone from home. Some soon heard me and came to my help, and I posted them off to inform Mr. L. of my disaster, that he might not be needlessly alarmed. A corn-dodger was soon smoking in the old Dutch oven in the ashes, and a cup of Western coffee steaming before the fire expressly for my benefit, and in that unsightly cabin I rested my aching head, that for a week had been exposed to a burning sun. An old lady, an entire stranger, heard my voice some distance, and recognized it, though she had never heard of me, or heard my name, only as I was led, I believe, by the Spirit, to witness for Christ at a grove meeting held by the pro-

slavery Baptists a few Sabbaths previous. Who can question a Divine Providence even in small matters?

The next day we trod upon these premises that will soon look like a house; and though my health has suffered greatly, and is suffering this hot weather, I hope yet to do some good in Kansas.

We never felt the pressure of hard times as we do at the present. Money cannot be got in Kansas at fifty per cent. Were it possible to raise means, I should go East and stop through the hot season, and I believe my health would be restored again. I have asked in prayer that a door might yet be opened that I might once more look upon the faces of my aged parents, and meet the family circle after so long a separation! The will of God be done! I have to-day been looking over the list of camp meetings in the Herald, Kennebunk, Stirling, Wesleyan Grove, Eastham, &c.; and O how my heart leaps to attend them, and others, as in days of yore; and O, were it possible to procure means in these hard times, if God willed, I would again join the praying ones in the tented grove. Do pray for unworthy us at these several meetings, dear brethren, though we may not meet you there, as we so much desire. The God of battles be with you, and give you success!

Respectfully yours,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

P. S. Occasionally unimportant errata occur in my letters, but I have never thought it best to notice them; thus, in the last, for "live fence," read "line fence," though there are "live fences" in different places, but not yet of sufficient growth to dispense with other fences; also, it was not "our cabin removed, as we were told at M[anhattan, letter May 27, 1858]," but another on the verge of the town site. Two more men have been murdered in Linn County. They went in pursuit of their stolen horses, and were shot by Missourians. Baker University, at Palmyra, is going ahead some, in spite of "hard times." One stone building up, and hope to have another soon. Lawrence Republican of this issue brings the intelligence that the Missourians are arming along the Southern Border for another invasion. Heaven preserve us!

J. L. L.

PALMYRA, KANSAS,
Sept. 10, 1858.

MESSRS. EDITORS⁹⁶:

Your readers are doubtless aware that, in June, we changed our residence, from Palmyra, to Sumner on the Missouri River. Since that time, numerous cares have prevented me from continuing correspondence with the Democrat. Two weeks since, we left our home in Sumner to attend the great camp-meeting, for the Territory in this place, where Mr. Lovejoy was violently seized with bilious intermittent fever, though now somewhat convalescent. "The pale horse, and his rider," has been making rapid strides through the Territory, and, for months past, scarcely a town or neighborhood where his noiseless, stealthy tread, has not spread dismay in families, and communities, sickness and death on every hand, caused no doubt, by the unparalleled amount of rain, and extreme hot weather. Fevers, of a bilious character, have almost universally prevailed, often terminating in sudden death, "congestive chills" have been of a very fatal character, and probably there have been more deaths in the Territory, within a few months past, than in the entire three years, previously.

But my letter will be made up of "scraps," and "patch work," whilst I sit by the bed-side of my sick husband, so I will pen what first comes to hand, "religiously," "politically" and "financially." Our camp-meeting, just closed, was a "great time," in every respect. It was holden in a grove, included in the "College grounds," connected with Baker University, which grounds, have been christened "Baldwin City," in honor of an eccentric Mr. Baldwin, of Berea, Ohio, or the founder of Baldwin University, who is expected to give a bonus, of \$10,000, for the name.⁹⁷ You should see the millionaire, (who has been staying here for months) bare-footed, with his old slouched hat, course cotton shirt-collar, and rusty clothes. But poor man, his heart was well nigh broken during our camp-meeting. His son, the head of a family, who had been here some time, and was expecting to take charge of the school connected with the University, as Principal, suddenly sickened, and died!⁹⁸ O! said the

96. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

97. "In 1858, the [Palmyra] town company purchased the section of land adjoining the town on the south, and donated it to the Kansas Educational Association, in consideration of which they agreed to locate an institution of learning on the said section. As the work on the university progressed, buildings were erected on the new town site, which was named Baldwin, in honor of John Baldwin, of Berea, Ohio, and soon, one by one, the business enterprises of Palmyra moved to the new town."—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

98. Milton Baldwin died August 30, 1858, before the college opened.—*Ceremonial Unveiling of Tablets Commemorating Historical Events at Baker University*, . . . June 1, 1941.—Pamphlet.

old man, I thought nothing could break my iron constitution—I thought I could pass through every thing, but this stroke has broken me quite down. There were about thirty Methodist preachers present—twenty-six at one time, on the Sabbath, knelt around the “sacramental board,” and three or four had gone to their respective fields of labor. Great, and, we hope, permanent good, will result from this meeting. There were more than 1,000 persons present, and some of the best talent in the M. E. Church in the Union.

There were representatives, from the Genesee, Erie, New England, Ohio, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and Arkansas Conferences. Our newly elected President⁹⁹ of “Baker University” was present, and electrified the assembly with his eloquence. He has been Professor in McKendree College, Illinois, for many years. We welcome him to Kansas, where he intends to sleep his “last sleep.”

What do our Democratic friends in New Hampshire think of our Kansas vote? President Davis has just come up the Missouri River, and he said every thing seemed stagnant, with regard to Kansas, until the people heard the booming of cannon, that tolled the death note of “Lecompton,” [the constitution,] when all along the route, from Illinois, every man’s face was Kansas-ward; the depots were filled, the boats loaded, and according to present appearance there will be a heavy emigration, this fall, and we are hoping that “material aid,” will come to the settlers from some source, for such a crisis, financially, has never been felt in Kansas. Money cannot be hired for 50 per cent and many will be ruined in property, by inability to meet demands. Such a distressing time, in finances, among Methodist preachers, has never been known for half a century. Having but a small missionary appropriation from \$50 to \$150, and such pinching times for money with the lay members, the preachers fare hard. . . . Now, if any of our New England brethren, think the age that produced self-sacrificing men and women, has quite gone by, let them call at the cabins, of a score of Methodist preachers in Kansas, and learn the fact, that there are warm hearts still beating in many a manly bosom that are willing to suffer, to help on the cause of freedom and equality, and who have pledged their all “never to flinch or yield,” even, though called to face the “King of terrors,” till Kansas is redeemed.

There has been so much rain, crops will be very heavy. I never conceived an idea, of the rank growth of vegetation, as I now see

99. In September, 1858, the trustees chose Werter R. Davis of McKendree College, Illinois, as the first president. Dr. Davis was 43 years old when he came to Kansas.—*Ibid.*

it on every hand. I now write from the same little cabin, from which many a "missive," has been sent forth to friends, and an occasional talk with "friend Democrat," and but a few rods from the little window, near which I used to write, corn may be measured 15 feet high, and I dare not tell the mammoth size of some vegetables. There are weeds, that are by actual measurement, 15 or 20 feet high, and grass is three feet above the horse's back, on one part of this claim, and in some places on the road along which we came from Sumner.—"Charlie" will have from 1500 to 2000 bushels of corn, on this claim, as he owns 80 acres of it, and has all the crops raised on the 160 together. If it would not discourage the New Hampshire boys from migrating West, I would just say whilst I write, this moment, "Charlie" has forgotten all about his big crops and is "shaking" with the ague, at my left hand. but he loves Kansas, still, and I will venture if you approach him, as the bed on which he new reclines, is trembling with sundry "agitations" of its occupant, with chattering teeth, he will answer, "Let me stay in Kansas, this terrible shaking, notwithstanding." You among the Granite hills who have not seen or felt the effects of the "fever and ague" can hardly realize how much we dread its approach, and this year you find but few families who escape. Its subject usually takes his bed, every other day, and in violent cases, the "fits" come on every day and last for weeks, and in many cases for months. Thus much for the present.

Yours respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

PALMYRA, K. T., Sept. 13, 1858.

DEAR HERALD ¹⁰⁰:—We left our home in Sumner, two weeks ago tomorrow, to attend the great camp meeting for the Territory, which commenced in this place the 30th ult., where Mr. Lovejoy was seized with intermittent fever, though now somewhat convalescent; and as we are detained here in consequence thereof, whilst I watch by his bedside, I will tell thee, thou faithful chronicler, some facts in relation to this great and good "feast of tabernacles." It was holden in a beautiful grove, on the grounds connected with "Baker University," which have been duly christened, "Baldwin City;" and their eccentric "namesake" is the founder of "Baldwin University," also, of Berea, Ohio; it is expected that a bonus of \$10,000 will in due time be forthcoming as an "attache" to the name. If

100. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

you ask a description, "personally," of the millionaire, as we saw him last week, in an assembly of perhaps a thousand, here it is: A small, unimposing man of perhaps sixty years, an old slouched hat, a coarse cotton shirt collar, with no neckerchief about his neck, a rusty, much worn vest, and coat, pants, (that the lamented Watson would say) "were very much opposed to the extension of territory," being many inches too short, and a pair of coarse shoes, completed his attire—by the way, in warm weather the shoes are considered an unnecessary incumbrance, and bare feet are much preferred to plod about with. Poor man! how our hearts ached for him, as we saw him in that rustic temple, vainly endeavoring to conceal his grief! A dear son, grown to manhood, a husband and father, who had accompanied his parent to the Territory a few weeks since, and who intended to make "Baldwin City" his future home, at the commencement of our camp meeting sickened and died in a few hours, and no relative but his heartbroken father to follow him to his grave, dug by strangers' hand, so far from kin and home. "O!" said the bereaved parent, "I thought I could bear anything, but this has broken my iron frame all to pieces." The M. E. Church in Kansas deeply feel this stroke, for in him our hopes centered to help on the educational movement here, as he was elected Principal of the preparatory school connected with the University, which is to commence in a few weeks. "Peace to the ashes of the Christian stranger."

For thirty years we have annually attended more or less camp meetings in New England, but seldom have we heard better preaching, or "seen more religious interest manifested" than at our late meeting. There were about thirty preachers present, and at one time, around the "sacramental board," on the Sabbath, twenty-six "heralds of the cross" bowed together as members of one common brotherhood. Ah! sir, you, (Mr. Editor, I mean,) would not wonder at our emotions, as we stood at that rustic altar, and gazed at the scene! Four years ago the next March, single-handed and alone, with regard to a colleague, Mr. L. entered the Territory as a traveling Methodist preacher, and only a young local preacher, Rev. N. Trafton, who accompanied him, and the senior Dr. Still, from Missouri, who was a little ahead of him, though others followed¹⁰¹; and now "what hath God wrought," though his people

101. There were other Methodist ministers who preceded the Rev. C. H. Lovejoy to Kansas. Among them were the Rev. Thomas Johnson, who established the Shawnee Methodist mission in 1830; the Rev. W. H. Goode and the Rev. J. S. Griffing, who arrived in the fall of 1854. The Rev. Mr. Lovejoy came in March, 1855.—*Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission* . . . (Topeka, 1939), pp. 8-10; Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 539, 1306.

have passed through the "furnace of afflictions." There are now in Kansas alone about thirty stationed preachers, and some of the most talented men in the different Conferences are now flocking in, as they find they can live here and save their scalps! There were present at our late meeting such men as Dodge, whose present station is Lima, N. Y., and who for many years has been one of the leading spirits in the Genesee Conference. Prof. Davis, of McKendree College, Ill., H. Moore, of Erie Conference, and a "Constellation" of others, all of whom named design to live and die in Kansas. There were representatives from more than half we think of the Conferences in the Union, or at least from New England, New York, Genesee, Pittsburg, Erie, Ohio, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, and we did not learn from what other "hailing point."

There were, it is computed, more than a thousand persons in attendance, and at one time, as we strolled around the encampment from tent to tent, we found in almost every tent somebody, preachers or people, shaking terribly with the ague, as it has been general through the Territory, owing to great rains; and the "king of terrors" has been spreading devastation in every settlement, so far as we have heard from; probably more deaths from bilious fever within a few weeks, in different localities, than during the whole three years previous. Among the victims, we sorrowfully number one, whose rare virtues are seldom fully imitated, and who from the first acquaintance has seemed to us a model woman! We refer to our beloved sister Denison, wife of Rev. J. Denison, of Manhattan, K. T., formerly of New England Conference. Precious woman! I have rarely met her equal in meek, quiet resignation, in scenes most calculated to try an affectionate mother's heart. When we were stopping at Kansas City, on our way to the Territory, in the spring of 1855, she was called to lay her little Charlie, a beautiful boy, away in that stranger graveyard, and her husband too sick to superintend the interment or go to the grave with her; but she bore all with a martyr's spirit. And how she struggled uncomplainingly as the companion of a pioneer preacher, scores of witnesses will testify who will long cherish a remembrance of her virtues. O may "He who tempereth the wind to the shorn lamb," sustain that bereaved husband, and shield the five motherless ones, two Kansas-born twins, too young to realize their great loss. But to the meeting again, after this unintentional wandering.

In one tent we found Rev. N. Taylor, of Neosho District, sick

with ague, unable to sit up during the meeting; in another, Bro. Dodge, of Genesee, who was undergoing the "initiatory process" in no mild manner! We begged pardon for ironical sympathy, that produced a smile instead of a tear, for we had passed through the ordeal again and again; he had been traveling extensively in the Territory, and had been perfectly carried away with its charming beauties, and had written home letters to the Northern Advocate, all a-glow with Kansas attractions; now his corpulent frame was prostrate in one corner of the tent, shaking and shivering in every limb; his teeth chattering as he raised his head from 'neath that smothering pile of bed-clothes, as we were introduced to him; his handed extended with—"What a beautiful country Kansas is," "but O! this ague," "I never felt anything like it before." "This is the finest country in the world; but O! this ague," (teeth chattering) "this is the only drawback." We told him to "keep up good courage," we had all traveled the same rough way, "and 'twould soon be over." We knew he *read* our sympathy was all of a superficial character; now and then a groan escaped from the sufferer. In a few moments the fever succeeded, and ever and anon the interrogation, (as some new phase of the disease exhibited itself,) "What does this mean?" and the answer, "What we have all experienced."

The church was greatly refreshed at this meeting, whilst one after another received the grace of God, and numbers, we believe, for the first time. One young man was converted in a tent at the verge of the background from the "stand," and rushing over seats and benches the whole length, never stopped till he reached the altar. We think there is far greater excitability among our Western brethren than New Englanders, who are bred in a clime near the frigid zone: For instance, when the Holy Ghost came down upon our tent's company, and rested upon each "like a tongue of fire," some of the Western brethren and sisters were pressing through the crowd, shaking hands with each other; (as preachers and people almost invariably do when God blesses them) others were prostrate, slapping their hands and shouting in ecstasies, whilst we Yankees could only weep and adore the great mercy of Christ risen and exalted. At another time, when a sister was telling the assembly the wondrous love of Jesus to the fallen race, one who has long been an official member in the West, strided back and forth in front of the altar, shouting every breath, and finally ended this singular exercise by jumping up and down, and shouting till the exhortation concluded.

Now we do not mention these matters in a condemnatory spirit by any means, but as being somewhat new to us, having never seen things on this wise in New England. The good effects of this meeting we fully believe will be seen and felt for years to come in Kansas and 'twould not be strange if the halls of our prospective University, raised near the site of this hallowed spot, would hereafter re-echo the voice of some of these young men who have consecrated themselves to God!

Professor Davis has for many years been connected with McKendree College, but now accepts the presidency of the first University in Kansas, and immediately enters on his duties as agent till the college buildings are complete. We welcome him to Kansas as just the man for this position; warm-hearted, whole-souled, energetic, and deeply pious; he will, if spared, make no ordinary mark on the literary institutions of Kansas. O how his sermons, full of the Spirit, fed the hungry multitude who hung on every sentence, and answered with shouts and tears!

It is a hard year financially with the preachers, notwithstanding the heavy crops. Money cannot be had at any amount of interest, however exorbitant, and some have demands that money only can meet. There was a great error committed at our last Conference, that all feel now but too late to be remedied; Bishop Janes, by the advice of the Presiding Elders of Kansas, Nebraska Conference (they not anticipating the pinching times that were to come,) carried away \$1000 that should have been distributed as "missionary appropriation," and the preachers here are now actually suffering for the want of it. I will give you a few facts that I know, personally: The preacher on Palmyra circuit, his family, his wife, and I think five children, no missionary appropriation, and his Presiding Elder announced at the camp meeting he had received only \$20 since Conference, last May. The one on Oskaloosa Circuit, wife and three children, no appropriation, and received about the same sum! The one on Sumner station, \$150 appropriation, and has received in cash \$5, and this where house-rent and board is double that in New England. Each Presiding Elder in Kansas receives \$400 appropriation, and we think generally, if not universally, enough from each circuit to make one or two hundred more; but this inequality will, doubtless, be remedied another year, as it justly ought to have been the present. The circuit preachers mentioned do not live on their "claims," and raise their own crops, as some

may suppose, but devote their time to the work of the ministry only as they are obliged to take time to build them a house or cabin to shelter their families.

A more self-sacrificing body of men we do not believe can be found, than those who compose the Kansas Conference. Some of them have been through "war and flood," now shivering with cold, then pinched with hunger, fording dangerous streams, or wading through the water hip high; now swimming a swollen creek with horse and buggy, or grappling with the angry waves, that were bearing off its precious burden, (his box of books) and leaving one shoe in the bed of the creek, ne'er to be "fished up by hook and line," and thus drenched to the skin, riding miles in wet clothing! Now this is no fiction, but the actual experience of one whose aching head I have this hour been endeavoring to alleviate. For the present, dear Herald adieu.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

SUMNER, K. T., Nov. 23, 1858.

MR. EDITOR ¹⁰²:—There has not been such a dearth in the "news department" of Kansas, politically, for four years, as at present; and the universal cry of "hard times" in money matters has ceased long since to be talked of as news; and if a man meets his neighbor in the street, and passes him without a "dun," or if a man unlocks his door in the morning, and locks it again at night, with the exclamation, "I have not been dunned to-day," why that may be talked over as news! I ardently wish I could tell you such blessed news for your revival department, from this far-off land, as I read in the Herald last evening, from Sister Palmer's pen, giving a glowing account of the wonderful work of God in the British Provinces. Ah! that letter caused my poor heart to exult, and with tearful eye praise God; and for awhile I longed to be with her, but I checked the desire, and cried to God to come down in like manner among the people of Kansas. O, that this awful, death-like stupor might be shaken off the minds of the multitude whose all-absorbing idea, just now, is "hard times," and the untold treasures that are awaiting their search, at the "gold mines."

I see by the Eastern papers that you are already apprised of the "Pike's Peak" excitement here, and the accounts you get in New England are greatly exaggerated. Now if I can benefit any who design coming here in the Spring, I will give them information as

102. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

reliable as I can. Mr. Lovejoy recently conversed with a friend, direct from Pike's Peak, and his testimony was, "a fine country, and found gold, but had not facilities for mining purposes." Dr. S. Whitehorn, our son-in-law, who has lived in the vicinity of Manhattan for more than four years, came from there last week, and more than half a dozen men, direct from the mines, (and two, who had spent the last summer there, were loaded with gold dust,) came in there recently, the Doctor told us to-day, bringing thousands with them. He says he thinks two-thirds of the settlers around Manhattan will go there in the Spring. Already large companies from Leavenworth, Lawrence, Topeka, Oskaloosa, and other places, have started for the El Dorado, but we are inclined to think before they arrived half way to the goal, they were obliged to ensconce themselves in snug winter quarters, for the cold must be intense among the mountains. The distance from here to the "Peak" is six hundred miles, and I have no doubt the wing of Kansas Conference, at its next session, will be extended beyond the "mines," and one or more missionaries appointed to "Pike's Peak" and Utah; and, sir, we have serious thoughts of volunteering for either place!¹⁰³ Methinks I see one of your readers, fresh from the Biblical Institute, smile at the idea of one who has, for a quarter of a century, been in the itinerant ranks, offering himself as a missionary, with such an appalling array of hardships as must necessarily loom up before him, in either field of labor. Let such an one consider that we have, for almost four years, been learning a lesson in pioneer life, that nothing but severe experience can ever teach, and are willing and ready to plant the standard of the Messiah among the Rocky Mountains.

Sickness has abated some since the cool weather came on. There has been much rain this fall, and consequently the streams have been much swollen, so that the roads have at times been almost impassable, and many very afflicting cases of drowning, by persons endeavoring to ford or swim the creeks. The stage-driver that goes with the daily line from Leavenworth to Lawrence was drowned, and two span of horses, endeavoring to ford "Stranger Creek," and down the same creek, not far from here, floated a dead horse, with saddle and bridle on; his owner had been unhorsed and drowned;

103. Pike's Peak and Cherry Valley were added to the Manhattan district at the annual conference in 1859, with the appointment to be supplied. The Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy was returned to Sumner.—*Minutes of the Fourth Session of the Kansas and Nebraska Annual Conference, of the Methodist E. Church* . . . (Omaha, N. T., 1859), pp. 13, 14.

and how many have lost their lives in that creek, within one year, I cannot tell. Your New England readers can form some idea how rapidly that stream rises, when I tell them I have repeatedly forded the stream at the very spot where, just before, it was twenty feet deep, and seething and foaming like a boiling cauldron! Mr. L. started for Lawrence, but could not cross the stream, and returned, and waited a week for the waters to subside, and pushed ahead, as he always does when difficulties are to be surmounted. Crossing the Wakarusa, he found the toll-bridge gone on his return, and the waters rolling like a sweeping flood; but his Quarterly Meeting was to commence the next day, at Sumner, fifty miles off, and the roads in a dreadful condition, and he must get home. The danger was appalling, and perhaps the attempt rash, but the horse he held by the bit was a spirited animal, and in he plunged, and swam across the stream, with the buggy, and all landed safe on the other shore, save the fender-board was broken, and a bag of potatoes (that Methodist preachers in Kansas are very glad to carry to their families) went down the stream! His clothes were well soaked with water, but a call at a Methodist inn soon set all right again, and he went on his way rejoicing. Not so with a man, not far from the same spot, and near that time. He started to carry home his hired girl, crossed the stream as it was rising, turned about to go home; in that time the stream had risen twelve feet; plunged in with his span of horses, but all were drowned, driver and horses. We felt sad as we stood on the banks of the Missouri, at the time of high water, and saw a noble animal, with a lariat attached to him, come floating by where we stood. We spoke of the melancholy history that might be connected with his fate, were it known; perhaps he and his rider were suddenly engulfed in a watery grave; or, peradventure, he had come all the way from Nebraska, or from near the Rocky Mountains.

There is one matter connected with temporalities, (as my letter cannot be filled with anything of special interest, as I wish it might be, in matters pertaining to the prosperity of the church,) that I have long designed to mention in the Herald, to induce our New England friends to cease being duped as they have been, in buying "shares" or "lots," in paper towns in Kansas, where perhaps there are not three log cabins, to bear the name of town, or city, as the case may be, and probably never will be, or for some time to come, any more. There are towns on the Kaw and Missouri rivers, where a man may make a good investment; but ungodly speculators have

filched thousands from the honest and good in this way. A dear brother in the ministry, in the Maine Conference, who has no money to spare, recently wrote to Mr. L., inquiring about an investment he made in "Council City," Kansas. Now that good brother was sadly duped, and would have done better with his money, for his needy family, to have purchased as many feet of land in the Aroostook region, in Maine. Many have made independent fortunes in buying "shares" in *real* towns, such as Manhattan, Topeka, Tecumseh, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Oskaloosa, Sumner, Atchison, Palmyra, Wyandott, &c. I hope what I have written may do those good for whom it is designed, as the information is for none else.

The boats are still running on the Missouri River. A little snow has fallen, but the weather is mild. A large emigration has come in from Iowa, as their crops were destroyed by heavy rains.

Respectfully,

J. LOUISA LOVEJOY.

[Part Four Will Appear in the February, 1948, Issue]

Bypaths of Kansas History

RAILROADS VS. THE PEOPLE

From *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, November 9, 1867.

GREASY.—When the passenger train on the C. B. U. P. R. R., yesterday morning reached the vicinity of Monrovia the wheels of the engine began to slide so that further progress up the grade was difficult. After using all the usual appliances in such cases, and spending some hours in attempts to climb the grade, the train ran back about three miles, put on all steam, and succeeded in making the ascent. The rails had been thoroughly greased by somebody. A notice in another place offers a reward for the detection of the offenders.

FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD

Five hundred dollars reward will be paid for the detection, arrest and conviction of the party or parties implicated in obstructing the train at Monrovia, on Friday, November 1st, 1867.

CENTRAL BRANCH U. P. R. R.

ATCHISON, Kan., Nov. 2d, 1867.

From *The Western Observer*, Washington, May 26, 1870.

A few days ago, as we were going south by rail, we saw a little incident on the cars which demonstrates the craftiness of the gentler sex, and particularly the business capacity of the one under whose management the conductor was so nicely beaten out of a hundred miles ride. A family, consisting of a mother, a boy 14 years, and a girl under 12 years, took the M. R. Ft. S. & G. cars at Kansas City, for Fort Scott. The family were Irish, and evidently of the poorest class. On the entrance of the conductor to collect fares, the boy slid off his seat and hid himself under the skirts of his mother and sister, and when the conductor had passed through the car, he again emerged to view. This concealment was repeated after stopping at every station, and was so deftly performed that the boy stole his ride to Fort Scott, and left the cars with his mother and sister without once attracting the notice of the conductor. This little bit of bye-play afforded much amusement to the passengers, and led to the discussion of the question whether it is any part of the duty of a conductor to hunt among the drapery of his lady passengers, in search for possible stowaways.—*Atchison Patriot*.

BAD SPELLING ON THE MARAIS DES CYGNES

John Speer in *The Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, January 13, 1870.

To a person unacquainted with French the name of the noted Marais des Cygnes is a jawbreaker to pronounce or spell. As we first came into Kansas on the old California road, we met a farmer with his team about half way between here and Kansas City, and made various inquiries about different

portions of the country, to which he responded that he considered the Marais des Cygnes the best he had seen. "How do you spell it?" we asked, taking out our note book. "Well, there," he replied, "I cannot tell you." But we had to spell it; and how does the reader suppose we did it? Finding that old memorandum book, a few days ago, we saw the name as we wrote it fifteen years ago: "Merry Dezine." We have the satisfaction that we were not the only man who could not spell that name, for, by reference to the old New York *Tribune* files, we observe the learned Kansas correspondent of that journal spelled it "Merodesin." Why cannot the hard names be anglicized?

IN THE HARNESS EARLY

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, February 3, 1870.

BOUND TO MAKE THE RIFFLE.—Last week, a young married couple, bound this way, on their wedding tour, reached the opposite bank of the river, when the owner of the conveyance would not venture to cross on the ice. The young man was bound not to be put back, so he came over and got a buggy, pulled it across himself, put his bride in, and came trotting back in shafts as if he were used to it!

A ROSE BY ANY OTHER NAME!

From the *Weekly Champion & Press*, Atchison, July 2, 1870.

The Delaware Indian word for love is "schmelendamowitchewagan."

BRIDGE TROUBLES

From the *Wichita Eagle*, May 22, 1873.

The Big Arkansas river has been slowly rising for several days. The stockholders of the big bridge [at Wichita] are anxiously praying for a continuation of the rise. For nearly seven months the river has been fordable, and the way that big corporation is wanting to sell out is amusing.

From the *Eagle*, June 12, 1873.

Belle Plain has built a free bridge across the Nennescah, but the teamsters tell us that near one end of the bridge there is a slough in the road; said road is fenced, and that the owners of the fenced land charge teamsters ten cents for the privilege of driving through their field, in order to avoid the slough and reach the bridge.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The series of articles by W. W. Graves, editor of the St. Paul *Journal*, entitled, "History of Neosho County," has been continued in the *Journal* in recent months. Articles were published on September 5, 19 and 26, October 31, November 21 and December 26, 1946; January 2, 1947, January 16, June 5, 12, 26, July 3, 10, 17, 24, August 7, 14, 21, 28, September 4, 11 and 18. The history of the Osage Catholic mission at St. Paul was featured in the *Journal* in illustrated articles appearing from January through May, 1947.

Among historical articles concerning Wilson county published in the *Neodesha News* under the title, "Diamond Jubilee," were: Pioneers and their social gatherings, December 12, 1946; reminiscences of the late Mrs. B. T. Frost, who came to Kansas in 1869, December 19; list of post offices in the 1860's and 1870's with the date each was established, December 26, and the first school in Neodesha township, January 2, 1947. Mrs. Kate Winter Pingrey was the author of the following articles printed by the *Neodesha Register*: Neodesha's first water supply and early day fire fighting equipment, January 9, 1947; historical sketch of Neodesha newspapers, February 6, and "Development of Transportation," February 20.

"Across the Years" is the title of a weekly historical column, written by W. E. Baer, which was started in the *La Cygne Journal*, January 3, 1947. Beginning with events in 1869 the installments for the first eight months of this year traced principal happenings in the community in the 1870's and 1880's and mentioned the business firms. Among the events noted by Mr. Baer were: The laying of a switch at La Cygne by the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad and its designation as a station on October 14, 1869; the incorporation of La Cygne as a city of the third class in August, 1870, and its selection as the Linn county seat on February 14, 1871; the removal of the county seat to Pleasanton in 1874; the stop of Henry Ward Beecher to dine in the spring of 1878, while en route from Fort Scott, and a list of some marriages in Linn county from 1878 to 1885.

"Notes From the Early Days," weekly column in the *Protection Post* sponsored by the Protection Historical Society, has been continued in recent months. Among the subjects were: The reminis-

cences of Mrs. Albert Thornhill concerning the middle 1880's, May 30 and June 6, 1947; "Protection's Founding and Incorporation," June 20, 27 and July 4, and the first church service in Protection in 1885, July 11.

Articles of general interest in the June, 1947, issue of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, include: "Prehistory and Environment in the Central Great Plains," by Waldo R. Wedel; "Jack Rabbit, Cottontail, and Vegetation in a Mixed Prairie," by H. Leo Brown; "Kansas Mycological Notes: 1946," by S. M. Pady, E. D. Hansing and C. O. Johnston; "The Pocket Gopher in the Rexroad Fauna," by Dorothea S. Franzen; "Migration Records of Birds in East-Central Kansas," by R. F. Miller and Ivan L. Boyd; "Kansas Botanical Notes, 1946," by Frank C. Gates; "Early Observations on the Elk in Kansas," by Donald F. Hoffmeister, and "Structure and Convergence in the Lansing Group, Wilson County," by J. R. Chelikowsky and Virgil Burkat.

Historical articles dealing with Kansas in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, included: "It Was a Great Day in 1888 Abilene When Town Tried to Become Capital," June 12, 1947, by C. M. Harger; "The Spirit of Bishop Quayle Lives in Bibles He Collected," June 15, by Edward R. Schauffler; "Contrast in Harvests Over Forty Years Show Revolution on Farm," June 23, by Cecil Howes; "When Wild Bill Cleaned Up Hays," July 10; "Split-Log Drag on Kansas Roads," July 24, and "Last Indian Reservation in Kansas May Be Broken Up in Near Future," August 2, both by Cecil Howes; and "At 80, W. A. Ayres Is Ready to Start Another Term in Government Service," August 12, by Henry Lyon. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* included: "Kansas Had Plenty of Mountains Until Wyandotte Convention Lopped Them Off," June 7; "Dust in Kansas Predated Plow," June 10, and "Ellsworth, Kansas, 80, Plans Pioneer Fete, Recalls Rip-Roaring Trail Days," July 9, both by Cecil Howes; "Century-Old Story of Council Grove, Kas., Began With Seth Hays's Cabin," July 16, by Dwight Pennington; sketch of the life of Mark W. Delahay, who persuaded Lincoln to make a speaking trip to Kansas in December, 1859, August 5, and "'Rain Makers' Toured the Kansas Plains With Strange Equipment in the 1890's," August 15, both by Cecil Howes; a review of the controversy over murals painted by the late John Steuart Curry in the state house, August 23, by Jessie Benton, and

"Newton and Wichita Harking Back to Birth at Ends of Cattle Trail," August 29, by Cecil Howes.

A history of Claflin, written by O. A. Copple, was published by the Claflin *Clarion* during the summer of 1947. It included historical sketches of schools, newspapers, churches and banks, and lists of mayors and postmasters. The town was named for the maiden name of Mrs. O. P. Hamilton, Copple said. Mr. Hamilton was an incorporator of the town company. The Claflin Town Company filed its charter in March, 1887, and the city was incorporated by order of the board of county commissioners of Barton county on July 18, 1901. Installments of the history were printed in the *Clarion* on June 19, 26, 1947; July 3, 10, 17, and August 7 and 14.

The pioneer experiences of Adam Hilkey who located in the present Overbrook community in 1880, were described in the *Overbrook Citizen* and *Scranton Gazette-Record*, June 26, 1947.

Beginnings of county government in Smith county were discussed in an article in the *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, July 10, 1947. Smith county was organized by proclamation of Gov. James Harvey early in 1872, and the first meeting of the county commissioners was held at Cedarville, the temporary county seat, on March 9 of that year. Smith Center was chosen as the county seat in an election in November, 1872, receiving a majority of all votes cast in a contest with Cedarville and Gaylord. The *Pioneer* on August 28 printed a photograph entitled, "Street Scene in Gaylord Sixty-one Years Ago." It was from a collection of the late Mrs. Jane Gedney.

The eightieth anniversary of the founding of the city of Ellsworth and the organization of Ellsworth county was observed with a three-day celebration, July 10-12, 1947. The plat of the Ellsworth townsite was filed for record on July 18, 1867. A 34-page "Pioneer Day" edition issued by the *Ellsworth Reporter*, July 10, contained a chronological history of the community for the period of 1867 to 1930, inclusive. Biographical sketches included: James B. (Wild Bill) Hickok; Ben Thompson, notorious gunman; William F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody; Capt. Eugene Millett; Maj. George E. Alden; George Seitz; Ira E. Lloyd; T. G. O'Donnell; E. W. Wellington; Arthur Larkin; W. E. Sherrieff, and George Huycke. Rosters of Ellsworth mayors, postmasters, senatorial representation for Ellsworth county from 1867 to date, and the vigilante committee

of 1869, appeared in the issue. Among the historical articles were: Founding of Ellsworth; naming of Ellsworth city and county; "Ellsworth's Famous Shooting," a recital of the slaying of Sheriff Chauncey B. Whitney, by F. D. Streeter; "The First Settlement on Thompson Creek"; "Pre-Historical Sketch of Ellsworth County"; historical sketches of the churches and public schools; experiences of Henry V. Faris, who located in the county in 1860; "Terminus of Union Pacific in 1867"; "Indian Raids," and "History of Ellsworth County Newspapers." The edition included many photographs of buildings of the late 1860's and 1870's, and a sketch of Ellsworth in 1871, drawn by Bernard Wardlow.

Another proposal to permit the sale of Huron cemetery in downtown Kansas City, now pending in congress, has brought forth considerable discussion and recalled previous measures of Kansas City residents to resist moves to dispose of the historic Wyandot Indian burial ground. The colorful history of the cemetery was reviewed by Grant W. Harrington in an article in the *Kansas City Kansan*, July 13, 1947. Burial of members of the Wyandot tribe who died in an epidemic in the 1840's was the beginning of the cemetery. It is also the resting place of Kansas soldier dead, who were killed in the Battle of the Blue and of one veteran of the War of 1812. In 1906 congress authorized the sale of the burial ground but two girls, Lyda and Hellena Conley, lineal descendants of the Wyandots, took possession of the cemetery. The fight was carried to the courts. The Conley sisters received an adverse decision in the United States supreme court a few years later but nevertheless their efforts to preserve the burial ground were successful when Sen. Charles Curtis obtained repeal of the statute permitting the sale. Lyda Conley died in 1946 and was buried in Huron cemetery beside her father and mother. On Memorial Sunday, 1947, a monument over the grave of Lyda Conley was dedicated.

Early history of Great Bend was related by its newspapers in connection with the city's diamond jubilesta held July 20-26, 1947, in celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the start of the city. The Great Bend *Herald* issued a 36-page edition July 4, which included the following subjects: Beginnings of Great Bend; taking Barton county census in 1870; 1875 census of Buffalo, Great Bend and Lakin townships; 1875 census of Great Bend businessmen; Barton county's first bond issue; historical sketches of churches; the Wayne Pritchard collection of 11 pioneer automobiles, and in-

interviews with Frank G. McKinney, Miss Laura Chapman, Mrs. E. J. (Jennie) Ingersoll and Mrs. Mary Feder, early settlers. A 40-page diamond jubilesta edition was printed by the Great Bend *Tribune*, July 19. Among the historical features were: Roster of mayors; a sketch of the public school system; description of the first hotel; population tables of city and county showing annual enumerations from founding to date; building of railroads to Great Bend; description of Koen ditch, irrigation project constructed from Arkansas river to Cheyenne Bottoms in the late 1890's; horse-drawn streetcar line opened in 1887; history of city library; the Santa Fe trail through Barton county; sketches of churches and clubs; extracts from the diary of Capt. Lambert Wolf during the establishment of Fort Larned; first telephone line; oil development in Barton county; sketches of the experiences of Frank Johnson, Mrs. E. J. Ingersoll, Frank McKinney and Will Osmond, early settlers, and a historical map of Barton county, drawn by A. A. Yarmer. Jubilesta events included the staging of an "armed holdup" of a Santa Fe train near Great Bend on July 24 and the dedication of the Great Bend municipal airport, formerly an army air field for the training of B-29 fliers, July 26.

The Hutchinson *News-Herald* began in August, 1947, the printing of a series of views of Kansas historical and beauty spots. Most of the photographs were made by Russell W. Walker of St. John. These pictures included: "Cave Hollow," north of Carneiro, August 4; Smoky Hill river roller mill, Lindsborg, August 12; "Hell's Half Acre," hard layers of sandstone, near Carneiro, August 18; early territorial capitol at Lecompton, August 25; "Cathedral of the Prairies," St. Fidelis Catholic church, Victoria, September 1.

Lucas observed the sixtieth anniversary of its founding with a celebration held on August 6-9, 1947. The Lucas Town Company was incorporated in December, 1887. A "History of Wolf Creek Valley. . .," by R. T. Fowler, and recollections of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Spalding of early days in what is now Lucas community were printed in the *Lucas Independent*, July 30, 1947. Spalding was born in Pottawatomie county in 1867 and moved to Russell county with his family in 1875.

Sterling celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding with a two-day program at the annual old settlers' picnic, August 7 and 8, 1947. The townsite was laid out in 1872 under the name of Peace and the community retained that name until April 18,

1876, when it was incorporated as a city of the third class under the name of Sterling by Judge Samuel R. Peters of the ninth judicial district. A historical sketch of the city was published in the *Sterling Bulletin*, July 31, 1947. Harry Porter of Sterling was elected president of the Rice-Reno County Old Settlers Association at the annual meeting, August 8. Will Hodge was elected vice-president and H. C. Bruce reelected secretary. Mrs. Ted Buel was the retiring president. A series of articles by Mrs. William Fleeson, reviewing the history of Sterling and vicinity, commenced in the *Sterling Bulletin* August 21.

The Journal-Free Press, of Osage City, published a 16-page seventy-fifth anniversary edition on August 13, 1947, in connection with the city's diamond jubilee which was celebrated August 20-22. Osage City was incorporated as a city of the third class about April 1, 1872. The anniversary edition of the *Journal-Free Press* contained a roster of mayors from the incorporation of the city to date, and pictures of many old and present-day places.

Reminiscences concerning the pioneer experiences of the John Jacob Buhrer family in Pawnee county in the late 1870's and 1880's were published in the *Larned Chronoscope*, and *The Tiller and Toiler*, August 21, 1947. The Buhrer family settled in Pawnee county in 1878.

Hanover celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its incorporation as a third class city with a diamond jubilee on August 25-27, 1947. The city was incorporated on July 5, 1872, by Judge Andrew S. Wilson, Washington, of the twelfth judicial district, three years after it was laid out by G. H. Hollenberg, builder of the Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express station. Gov. Frank Carlson was the principal speaker at the celebration and after his talk drank from a water pitcher once used in the White House by John Quincy Adams. The pitcher was provided by Wayne Wilson of Hanover, a direct descendant of the Adams family. Mr. Wilson's grandmother, the late Katherine Adams Jessup, was a granddaughter of President Adams. Brief historical sketches on the incorporation of Hanover were printed in the *Hanover Democrat*, July 11 and August 29, 1947.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of its incorporation as a third class city was celebrated by Newton August 30 to September 4, 1947, sponsored by the Harvey County Fair Association. A historical sketch of the fair association beginning with the original "Agricul-

tural and Mechanical Association of Harvey County" organized in 1872, was published in the Newton *Evening Kansan-Republican*, August 23, 1947. Newton was first incorporated on February 22, 1872, and the *Kansan* was established the same year.

H. Bart White, who arrived in Johnson county in 1856, was the oldest old timer registered at the forty-ninth annual old settlers' reunion held in Olathe September 5 and 6, 1947. His reminiscences were recorded in the Olathe *Mirror*, September 11. Officers of the association for 1948 are: Howard N. McKee, president; J. Fred Marvin, vice-president; Miss Annie Sutton, secretary, and H. E. Julien, treasurer, all of Olathe.

Kansas Historical Notes

A decision to arrange for the early publication of the second volume of *Chase County Historical Sketches* was made at the annual meeting of the Chase County Historical Society held September 6, 1947, at Cottonwood Falls. The first volume of the sketches was published by the society in 1940. F. W. Schneider was appointed to direct efforts to obtain a suitable place to keep Chase county relics of early days. Officers of the society were reëlected. They are: George T. Dawson, Elmdale, president; Henry Rogler, Matfield Green, vice-president; Mrs. Helen Austin, Cottonwood Falls, secretary; Tom R. Wells, Elmdale, treasurer, and Mrs. Clara B. Hildebrand, Cottonwood Falls, historian.

The early history of Herington was featured at the annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society held August 28, 1947, at Lake Herington. The Herington townsite was originally known as the Aelieth ranch and was owned by a Swedish nobleman before it was acquired by M. D. Herington, from whom the city derived its name, according to Mrs. Ray Tripp. Miss Drusilla Herington told of the Herington family moving to the ranch in 1881. Other speakers and their subjects included: W. H. Alward, history of railroads at Herington; Paul Knuth, Herington schools; Mrs. Henry Kandt, ladies' band organized in 1913; Mrs. F. C. Laine, history of Presbyterian church; Ray Tripp, early businesses in Herington; Bruce Crary, early newspapers; Dave J. Ballantyne, history of the post office; Mrs. Bruce Crary, history of library; W. H. Mott, beginnings of good roads movement, and Frank Davis, Kansas City, establishment of National Old Trails Road Association. President Truman has been president of the National Old Trails Road Association since his association with the Auto club at Kansas City earlier in his career. The 1948 meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society will be held at Lyona church, located in eastern Dickinson county between Junction City and Herington. The Rev. C. E. Zeigler is the pastor. Officers of the association are: Mrs. Carl Peterson of Enterprise, president; Mrs. Elsie Rohrer of Elmo, first vice-president; Fred Ramsey, Solomon, second vice-president; Mrs. H. M. Howard of Abilene, secretary, and Walter Wilkins of Chapman, treasurer.

Sen. B. F. Bowers was elected president of the Franklin County Historical Society at the annual meeting held in Ottawa, September 20, 1947. Officers reelected were: F. H. McCune, vice-president; Mrs. Charles Averill, secretary, and Miss Clara Kaiser, corresponding secretary and treasurer. Three directors were chosen for three-year terms. They were C. A. Smith, Wellsville; Mrs. Ada McCracken, Ottawa, and Hiram Allen, Williamsburg. Other directors are Mrs. Dorothy Belt Needham, Lane; B. M. Ottaway, Pomona; A. P. Elder, J. M. Conard, Mrs. W. A. Penny and E. Lister, all of Ottawa. Prof. B. Smith Haworth of Ottawa University was the principal speaker. Mrs. C. E. Reed, daughter of one of the founders of the Greenwood Baptist church in the Pomona area, presented to the society a history of the church. Manuscripts presented included the early-day experiences of the late Joshua Baker and of Mrs. Fanny Crain. A stereoscope and stereoscopic pictures made by Underwood and Underwood, famous photographers, whose early careers began at Ottawa, were exhibited. A. P. Elder, age 93, was the oldest person present at the meeting. The oldest native of Franklin county in attendance was Mrs. Mary Keene, 90, of Ottawa.

More than 100 persons attended the second annual homecoming of the Kennebec association held on Landon creek, eight miles south of Russell, on August 3, 1947. Arrangements were made for the appointment of a committee to work out plans for a permanent memorial in memory of the pioneers of the county. The purpose of the association is to preserve the history of the community at the junction of Landon creek and Smoky Hill river. Charter membership in the association, which is still open, is near the 300 mark.

Thousands of persons from Sumner, Sedgwick, Cowley and Butler counties attended the 74th annual reunion and picnic of Quad-County old settlers held August 28, 1947, at Mulvane. Dr. Carl S. Mundinger, president of St. John's College, Winfield, who recently returned from a trip to Germany, was the principal speaker.

The third issue of the *Bulletin of The Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, appeared in June, 1947. Articles included: "92 Years of Newspapers in Shawnee," by Arthur J. Carruth, Jr.; "Topeka's Year I," by Dr. John D. Bright; "Chronology of Shawnee County," by George A. Root, concluding the year 1855, and "Olive Packard Owen," by Robert Stone.

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